

VOLUME V.

OF THE

AUTHOR'S WORKS.

CONTAINING

The CONDUCT of the ALLIES,
and the EXAMINERS, &c.



D U B L I N:

Printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER,

M,DCC,XLI.





THE Publisher's P R E F A C E.



HE Publisher of the four preceding Volumes, having met with great Success in the Sale of them, was encouraged by the supposed Author's Friends, to collect all his political Writings, and other Pieces, in two Volumes; in which, he was assisted by those Gentlemen, who favoured him in correcting the former Writings.

The Conduct of the Allies, which made a great Noise in the World, and was universally allowed by the opposite Party, to be the best written Pamphlet which had appeared upon the Subject, is a Treatise that was thought too material to be lost, as it serves for a History of those Times, and gives a great Light into the Affairs transacting all over Europe; and, it is remarkable, that the Ministry of his late Majesty's Reign, as well as of the present, have avoided running into an expensive War by Land, to assist their Allies, although it might have saved the Empire lately from Ruin, both in Germany and Italy.

P R E F A C E.

The Examiners, upon the same Subject, are so well writ, that they have given universal Satisfaction to all Readers in general; many Editions of them having been printed in London since their first Publication; and the Advocates for both Country and Court, have had Recourse to them for Politicks, as many Authors have for Wit and Humour. These Papers, at their first Publication, had such an Effect, that it caused a Change in Queen ANNE's Ministry; but the Author preserved many of his Friends, and kept them in their Employments.

It is plainly seen, that a Spirit of Liberty is diffused through all these Writings; and that the Author is an Enemy to Tyranny and Oppression in any Shape whatsoever.

DUBLIN, April
18, 1738.



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T H E

THE
C O N D U C T
O F T H E
A L L I E S,
A N D O F T H E
Late M I N I S T R Y,
I N
Beginning and carrying on
T H E
P R E S E N T W A R.

Written in the Year 1712.

— *Partem tibi Gallia nostri
Eripuit: Partem duris Hispania bellis :
Pars jacet Hesperia : totoq; exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit* —

Odimus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis.
— *Vitrix Provincia plorat.*

TOUCHÉ

BY

ARTHUR

LE MINTON

Beginning and carrying on



PRESS WAR

Printed in the Year 1777

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B

Vol. A

T H E
P R E F A C E.

I Cannot sufficiently admire the Industry of a Sort of Men, wholly out of Favour with the Prince and People, and openly professing a separate Interest from the Bulk of the landed Men, who yet are able to raise, at this Juncture, so great a Clamour against a Peace, without offering one single Reason, but what we find in their Ballads. I lay it down for a Maxim, That no reasonable Man, whether Whig or Tory (since it is necessary to use those foolish Terms) can be of Opinion for continuing the War, upon the Foot it now is, unless he be a Gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new Turn of Affairs at home, to the Advantage of his Party; or lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the Kingdom's Condition, and by what Means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first Cases, where Interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: But as to the last, I think it highly necessary, that the Publick should be freely and impartially told what Circumstances they are in, after what Manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many Years with the Disposal of their Blood and Treasure, and what the Consequences of this Management are like to be upon themselves and their Posterity.

Those who, either by Writing or Discourse, have undertaken to defend the Proceedings of the late Ministry, in the Management of the War, and of the Treaty at Gertruydenburg, have spent time in celebrating the Conduct and Valour of our Leaders, and their Troops, in summing up the Victories they have gained, and the Towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high Articles were insisted on by our Ministers and those of the Confederates, and what Pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But

The P R E F A C E.

nothing of this can give the least Satisfaction to the just Complaints of the Kingdom. As to the War, our Grievances are, That a greater Load has been laid on Us, than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest Impositions have been submitted to for the Advancement of private Wealth and Power, or in order to forward the more dangerous Designs of a Faction; to both which a Peace would have put an End; and that the Part of the War which was chiefly our Province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the Enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a Peace, We complain of being deluded by a Mock Treaty; in which those who negotiated, took Care to make such Demands as they knew were impossible to be complied with, and therefore might securely press every Article as if they were in earnest.

These are some of the Points I design to treat of in the following Discourse; with several others which I thought it necessary, at this Time, for the Kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those Facts I mention; at least not in any Circumstance so material, as to weaken the Consequences I draw from them.

After ten Years Wars with perpetual Success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good Peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever happened in the World before, that a Man of any Party may be allowed suspecting that we have either been ill used, or have not made the most of our Victories, and might therefore desire to know where the Difficulty lay: Then it is natural to enquire into our present Condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this Rate; what the Consequences may be upon the present and future Ages; and whether a Peace, without that impracticable Point which some People do so much insist on, be really ruinous in it self, or equally so with the Continuance of the War.

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T H E



THE
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OF THE
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THE Motives that may engage a wise Prince or State in a War, I take to be one or more of these: Either to check the overgrown Power of some ambitious Neighbour; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from Them; to revenge some Injury They have received; (which all Political Casuists allow;) to assist some Ally in a just Quarrel; or lastly, to defend Themselves when They are invaded. In all these Cases, the Writers upon Politicks admit a War to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been

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usually called *pro aris & focis*; where no Expence or Endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at Stake, and consequently, our utmost Force to be exerted; and the Dispute is soon determined, either in Safety or utter Destruction. But in the other four, I believe it will be found, that no Monarch or Commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain Degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the Strength and Substance of their Country by Anticipations and Loans, which in a few Years must put them in a worse Condition than any they could reasonably apprehend from those Evils, for the preventing of which, they first entred into the War: Because this would be to run into real infallible Ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear so by a probable Speculation.

AND, as a War should be undertaken upon a just and prudent Motive, so it is still more obvious, that a Prince ought maturely to consider the Condition he is in when he enters on it; Whether his Coffers be full, his Revenues clear of Debts, his People numerous and rich by a long Peace and free Trade, not overpressed with many burthensome Taxes; No violent Faction ready to dispute his just Prerogative, and thereby weaken his Authority at home, and lessen his Reputation abroad. For, if the Contrary of all this happen to be his Case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the World's Quiet and his own, while there is any other Way left of preserving the latter with Honour and Safety.

SUPPOSING the War to have commenced upon a just Motive; the next Thing to be considered, is, when a Prince ought in Prudence to receive the Overtures of a Peace: Which I take to be, either when the Enemy is ready to yield the Point originally contended for, or when that Point is found impossible

impossible to be ever obtained ; or when contending any longer, although with Probability of gaining that Point at last, would put such a Prince and his People in a worse Condition than the present Loss of it. All which Considerations are of much greater Force, where a War is managed by an Alliance of many Confederates, which in the Variety of Interests, among the several Parties, is liable to so many unforeseen Accidents.

IN a Confederate War it ought to be considered, which Party has the deepest Share in the Quarrel : For although each may have their particular Reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest Part of the Burthen, in Proportion to their Strength. For Example : Two Princes may be Competitors for a Kingdom, and it will be your Interest to take the Part of Him, who will probably allow you good Conditions of Trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that Prince whose Cause you espouse, although never so vigorously, is the Principal in that War, and You, properly speaking, are but a Second. Or, a Commonwealth may lie in Danger to be over-run by a powerful Neighbour, which in Time may produce very bad Consequences, upon your Trade and Liberty : It is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them Assistance, and help them to win a strong secure Frontier ; but, as They must in Course be the first and greatest Sufferers ; so, in Justice, they ought to bear the greatest Weight. If a House be on fire, it behoves all in the Neighbourhood to run with Buckets to quench it ; but the Owner is sure to be undone first ; and it is not impossible that those at next Door may escape,

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by a Shower from Heaven, or the Stillness of the Weather, or some other favourable Accident.

BUT, if an Ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill Fortune of the War, be so generous, as to contribute more than the Principal Party, and even more in Proportion to his Abilities, he ought at least to have his Share in what is conquered from the Enemy: Or, if his romantick Disposition transport him so far, as to expect little or nothing from this, he might, however hope, that the Principals would make it up in Dignity and Respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his Domestick Affairs, prescribing what Servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable Demands, and at every turn threatening to break the Alliance if he will not comply.

FROM these Reflections upon War in general, I descend to consider those Wars, wherein *England* hath been engaged since the Conquest. In the Civil Wars of the *Barons*, as well as those between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, great Destruction was made of the Nobility and Gentry; new Families raised, and old ones extinguished; but the Money spent on both Sides was employed and circulated at Home; no publick Debts contracted; and a very few Years of Peace quickly set all right again.

THE like may be affirmed even of that unnatural Rebellion against King *Charles I.* The Usurpers maintained great Armies in constant Pay, had almost continual War with *Spain* or *Holland*; but managing it by their Fleets, they increased very much the Riches of the Kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

OUR

OUR Foreign Wars were generally against *Scotland* or *France*; the first being upon our Continent, carried no Money out of the Kingdom, and were seldom of long Continuance. During our first Wars with *France*, we possessed great Dominions in that Country, where we preserved some Footing till the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and although some of our later Princes made very chargeable Expeditions thither, a Subsidy, and two or three Fifteenths cleared all the Debt. Beside, our Victories were then of some Use as well as Glory; for we were so prudent to Fight, and so happy to Conquer, only for our selves.

THE *Dutch* Wars in the Reign of King *Charles II.*, although begun and carried on under a very corrupt Administration, and much to the Dishonour of the Crown, did indeed keep the King needy and poor, by discontinuing or discontenting his Parliament, when he most needed their Assistance; but neither left any Debt upon the Nation, nor carried any Money out of it.

AT the *Revolution*, a general War broke out in *Europe*, wherein many Princes joined in Alliance against *France*, to check the ambitious Designs of that Monarch; and here the Emperor, the *Dutch*, and *England* were Principals. About this Time the Custom first began among us of borrowing Millions upon Funds of Interest: It was pretended, that the War could not possibly last above one or two Campaigns; and that the Debts contracted might be easily paid in a few Years, by a gentle Tax, without burthening the Subject. But the true Reason for embracing this Expedient, was the Security of a new Prince, not firmly settled on the Throne: People were tempted to lend, by great Premiums, and large Interest; and it concerned them nearly to preserve

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preserve that Government, which they trusted with their Money. The * Person said to have been Author of so detestable a Project, is still living, and lives to see some of its fatal Consequences, whereof his Grand-Children will not see an End. And this pernicious Council closed very well with the Posture of Affairs at that Time : For, a Set of Upstarts, who had little or no Part in the *Revolution*, but valued themselves by their Noise and pretended Zeal when the Work was over, were got into Credit at Court, by the Merit of becoming Undertakers and Projectors of Loans and Funds : These finding that the Gentlemen of Estates were not willing to come into their Measures, fell upon those new Schemes of raising Money, in order to create a moneyed Interest, that in Time might vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the Head.

THE Ground of the first War, for ten Years after the *Revolution*, as to the Part we had in it, was, to make *France* acknowledge the late King, and to recover *Hudson's-Bay*. But during that whole War, the Sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest Part of six Millions annually employed to enlarge the Frontier of the *Dutch*. For the King was a General, but not an Admiral ; and although King of *England*, was a Native of *Holland*.

AFTER ten Years Fighting to little Purpose ; after the Loss of above a hundred thousand Men, and a Debt remaining of twenty Millions, we at length hearkened to the Terms of Peace, which was concluded with great Advantages to the *Empire* and *Holland*, but none at all to us ; and clogged soon after with the famous Treaty of *Partition* ; by which *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Lorrain*, were to be added

* *Doctor Burnet, Bishop of Sarum.*

to the *French* Dominions ; or if that Crown should think fit to set aside the Treaty, upon the *Spaniards* refusing to accept it, as they declared they would, to the several Parties at the very Time of transacting it ; then the *French* would have Pretensions to the whole Monarchy. And so it proved in the Event ; for, the late King of *Spain* reckoning it an Indignity to have his Territories cantoned out into Parcels, by other Princes, during his own Life, and without his Consent, rather chose to bequeath the Monarchy entire to a younger Son of *France* : And this Prince was acknowledged for King of *Spain* both by Us and *Holland*.

It must be granted, that the Counsels of entring into this War were violently oppoſed by the *Church-Party*, who first advised the late King to acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou* ; and particularly, it is affirmed, that a certain * *Great Person*, who was then in the *Church Interest*, told the King in November 1701, That since his Majesty was determined to engage in a War so contrary to his private Opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his Employment ; although he hap- pened afterwards to change his Mind, when he was to be at the Head of the Treasury, and have the sole Management of Affairs at home ; while those abroad were to be in the Hands of § *One*, whose Advantage, by all sorts of Ties, he was engaged to promote.

THE Declarations of War against *France* and *Spain*, made by Us and *Holland*, are dated within a few Days of each other. In that published by the *States*, they say very truly, That *they are near-*

* *Earl of Godolphin.*

§ *Duke of Marlborough.*

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est, and most exposed to the Fire ; that they are block-ed up on all Sides, and actually attacked by the Kings of France and Spain ; that their Declaration is the Effect of an urging and pressing Necessity ; with other Expressions to the same Purpose. They desire the Assistance of all Kings and Princes, &c. The Grounds of their Quarrel with France, are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediate-ly than any other Prince or State ; such as, the French refusing to grant the Tariff promised by the Treaty of Ryswick ; the loading the Dutch Inhabi-tants settled in France, with excessive Duties, contrary to the said Treaty ; the Violation of the Partition-Treaty, by the French accepting the King of Spain's Will, and threatning the States, if they would not comply ; the seizing the Spanish Netherlands by the French Troops, and turning out the Dutch, who by Permission of the late King of Spain were in Garrison there ; by which Means that Republick was deprived of her Barrier, contrary to the Treaty of Partition, where it was particularly stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should be left to the Archduke. They alledged, that the French King governed Flanders as his own, although under the Name of his Grandson, and sent great Numbers of Troops thither to fright them : That he had seized the City and Citadel of Leige, had possessed himself of several Places in the Archbischoprick of Cologne, and maintained Troops in the County of Wolfenbuttel, in order to block up the Dutch on all Sides ; and caused his Resident to give in a Memorial, wherein he threatened the States to act against them, if they refused complying with the Con-tents of that Memorial.

THE Queen's Declaration of War is grounded upon the *Grand Alliance*, as this was upon the unjust Usurpations and Encroachments of the French King ;

King; whereof the Instances produced are, *His keeping in Possession a great Part of the Spanish Dominions, seizing Milan, and the Spanish Low Countries, making himself Master of Cadiz, &c.* And instead of giving Satisfaction in these Points, *His putting an Indignity and Affront on Her Majesty and Kingdoms, by declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, &c.* which last was the only personal Quarrel we had in the War; and even This was positively denied by *France*, That King being willing to acknowledge Her Majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both Declarations, that *England* ought no more to have been a Principal in this War, than *Prussia*, or any other Power, who came afterwards into that Alliance. *Holland* was first in the Danger, the *French* Troops being at that Time just at the Gates of *Nimeguen*. But the Complaints made in our Declaration, do all, except the last, as much or more concern almost every Prince in *Europe*.

FOR, among the several Parties who came first or last into this Confederacy, there were few but who, in proportion, had more to get or to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill Success of this War than We. The *Dutch* took up Arms to defend themselves from immediate Ruin; and by a successful War, they proposed to have a larger Extent of Country, and a better Frontier against *France*. The *Emperor* hoped to recover the Monarchy of *Spain*, or some Part of it, for his younger Son, chiefly at the Expence of Us and *Holland*. The King of *Portugal* had received Intelligence, that *Philip* designed to renew the old Pretensions of *Spain* upon that Kingdom, which is surrounded by the other on all Sides, except towards the Sea; and could therefore only be defended by *Maritime Powers*.

ers. This, with the advantageous Terms offered by King *Charles*, as well as by Us, prevailed with that Prince to enter into the Alliance. The Duke of *Savoy*'s Temptations and Fears were yet greater: The main Charge of the War on that Side was to be supplied by *England*, and the Profit to redound to him. In case *Milan* should be conquered, it was stipulated that his Highness should have the Dutchy of *Montferrat*; belonging to the Duke of *Mantua*, the Provinces of *Alexandria* and *Valencia*, and *Lomellino*, with other Lands between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*, together with the *Vigevenasco*, or in Lieu of it, an Equivalent out of the Province of *Novara*, adjoining to his own State; beside whatever else could be taken from *France* on that Side by the Confederate Forces. Then he was in terrible Apprehensions of being surrounded by *France*, who had so many Troops in the *Milanese*, and might have easily swallowed up his whole Dutchy.

THE rest of the Allies came in purely for Subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable Sums into their own Coffers, and refused to send their Contingent to the *Emperor*, alledging the Troops were already hired by *England* and *Holland*.

SOME Time after the Duke of *Anjou*'s succeeding to the Monarchy of *Spain*, in Breach of the *Partition* Treaty, the Question here in *England* was, whether the Peace should be continued, or a new War begun? Those who were for the former, alledged the Debts and Difficulties we laboured under; that both We and the *Dutch* had already acknowledged *Philip* for King of *Spain*; that the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* to the House of *Austria*, and their Aversion from that of *Bourbon*, were not so surely to be reckoned upon, as some would pretend; that We thought it a Piece of Insolence, as well

well as Injustice, in the *French* to offer putting a King upon Us ; and the *Spaniards* would conceive, we had as little Reason to force one upon Them ; That it was true, the Nature and Genius of those two People differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a King of *French* Blood, as one of *Austrian* ; but, that if we should engage in a War for dethroning the Duke of *Anjou*, we should certainly effect, what, by the Progress and Operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent, I mean an Union of Interest and Affections between the two Nations ; For, the *Spaniards* must of Necessity call in *French* Troops to their Assistance : This would introduce *French* Counsellors into King *Philip's* Court ; and this, by Degrees, would habituate and reconcile the two Nations : That, to assist King *Charles* by *English* or *Dutch* Forces, would render him odious to his new Subjects, who have nothing in so great an Abomination, as those whom they hold for *Hereticks* : That, the *French* would by this Means become Masters of the Treasures in the *Spanish West-Indies* : That, in the last War, when *Spain*, *Cologne*, and *Bavaria* were in our Alliance, and by a modest Computation brought sixty thousand Men into the Field against the common Enemy ; when *Flanders*, the Seat of War, was on our Side, and his Majesty, a Prince of great Valour and Conduct, at the Head of the whole Confederate Army ; yet we had no Reason to boast of our Success : How then should we be able to oppose *France* with those Powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand Men from us to the Enemy, and so make us, upon the Balance, weaker by one Hundred and twenty thousand Men at the Beginning of this War, than of that in 1688 ?

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ON the other Side, those whose Opinion, or some private Motives, inclined them to give their Advice for entring into a new War, alledged how dangerous it would be for *England*, that *Philip* should be King of *Spain*, that we could have no Security for our Trade, while that Kingdom was subject to a Prince of the *Bourbon* Family ; nor any Hopes of preserving the Balance of *Europe*, because the Grandfather would, in effect, be King, while his Grandson had but the Title, and thereby have a better Opportunity than ever of pursuing his Design for Universal Monarchy. These, and the like Arguments prevailed ; and so, without offering at any other Remedy ; without taking Time to consider the Consequences, or to reflect on our own Condition, we hastily engaged in a War, which hath cost us sixty Millions ; and after repeated, as well as unexpected Success in Arms, hath put us and our Posterity in a worse Condition, not only than any of our Allies, but even our conquered Enemies themselves.

THE Part we have acted in the Conduct of this whole War, with Reference to our Allies abroad, and to a prevailing Faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine ; where I presume it will appear, by plain Matters of Fact, that no Nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused by the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption, the Ambition of its domestick Enemies ; or treated with so much Insolence, Injustice, and Ingratitude by its foreign Friends.

THIS will be manifest by proving the three following Points.

First, THAT against all manner of Prudence, or common Reason, we engaged in this War as Principals,

Principals, when we ought to have acted only as Auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we spent all our Vigour in pursuing that Part of the War which could least answer the End we proposed by beginning it ; and made no Efforts at all where we could have most weakened the common Enemy, and at the same Time enriched our selves.

Lastly, That we suffered each of our Allies to break every Article in those Treaties and Agreements by which they were bound ; and to lay the Burthen upon us.

UPON the first of these Points ; That we ought to have entred into this War only as Auxiliaries : Let any Man reflect upon our Condition at that Time : Just come out of the most tedious, expensive and unsuccessful War that ever *England* had been engaged in ; sinking under heavy Debts, of a Nature and Degree never heard of by Us or Our Ancestors ; the Bulk of the Gentry and People heartily tired of the War, and glad of a Peace, although it brought no other Advantage but it self : No sudden Prospect of lessening our Taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our Debts, as to raise Armies : A Sort of artificial Wealth of Funds and Stocks in the Hands of those, who for ten Years before had been plundering the Publick : Many Corruptions in every Branch of our Government, that needed Reformation. Under these Difficulties, from which twenty Years Peace, and the wisest Management, could hardly recover us, we declare War against *France*, fortified by the Acceßion and Alliance of those Powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former War, had been Parties in our Confederacy. It is very obvi-

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ous what a Change must be made in the Ballance, by such Weights taken out of Our Scale and put into Theirs ; since it was manifest by Ten Years Experience, that *France* without those Additions of Strength, was able to maintain it self against us. So that Human Probability ran with mighty Odds on the other Side ; and in this Case, nothing under the most extreme Necessity should force any State to ingage in a War. We had already acknowledged *Philip* for King of *Spain* ; neither does the Queen's Declaration of War take Notice of the Duke of *Anjou*'s Succession to that Monarchy as a Subject of Quarrel ; but the *French* King's governing it, as if it were his own ; his seizing *Cadiz*, *Milan*, and the *Spanish Low Countries*, with the Indignity of proclaiming the *Pretender*. In all which we charge that Prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last : And this, although indeed a great Affront, might have easily been redressed without a War ; for the *French* Court declared they did not acknowledge the *Pretender*, but only gave him the Title of *King*, which was allowed to *Augustus* by his Enemy of *Sweden*, who had driven him out of *Poland*, and forced him to acknowledge *Stanislaus*.

It is true indeed, the Danger of the *Dutch*, by so ill a Neighbourhood in *Flanders*, might affect us very much in the Consequences of it ; and the Loss of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*, if it should be governed by *French* Influence, and *French* Politicks, might, in Time, be very pernicious to our Trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our Neighbour ; and so we might have done without injuring our selves : For by an old Treaty with *Holland*, we were bound to assist that Republick with ten thousand

sand Men, whenever they were attacked by the *French*; whose Troops, upon the King of *Spain's* Death, taking Possession of *Flanders*, in Right of *Philip*, and securing the *Dutch* Garrisons till they would acknowledge Him; the *States General*, by Memorials from their Envoy here, demanded only the ten thousand Men we were obliged to give them by Virtue of that Treaty. And, I make no doubt, but *Holland* would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able, with that Assistance alone to defend their Frontiers: Or, if they had been forced to a Peace, the *Spaniards*, who abhor dismembering their Monarchy, would never have suffered the *French* to possess themselves of *Flanders*. At that Time they had none of those Endearments to each other which this War hath created; and whatever Hatred and Jealousy were natural between the two Nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no Sort of Necessity for Us to proceed further, although We had been in a better Condition. But our Politicians at that Time had other Views; and a new War, must be undertaken, upon the Advice of those, who with their Partisans and Adherents, were to be the sole Gainers by it. A Grand Alliance was therefore made between the Emperor, *England*, and the *States-General*; by which, if the Injuries complained of from *France* were not remedied in two Months, the Parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other *with their whole Strength*.

THUS We became Parties in a War, in Conjunction with two Allies, whose Share in the Quarrel was, beyond all Proportion, greater than Ours. However, I can see no Reason from the Words of the Grand Alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious Expences we have since been at.

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By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole Strength of a Nation*, as understood in that Treaty, to be the utmost that a Prince can raise annually from his Subjects: If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at Home or Abroad, it is not, properly speaking, *his own Strength*, or that of the Nation, but the entire Substance of particular Persons, which not being able to raise out of the annual Income of his Kingdom, he takes upon Security, and can only pay the Interest: And by this Method one Part of the Nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a Possibility left of being ever redeemed.

SURELY it would have been enough for us to have suspended the Payment of our Debts contracted in the former War; and to have continued our Land and Malt Tax, with those others which have since been mortgaged: These, with some Additions, would have made up such a Sum, as, with prudent Management, might, I suppose, have maintained an hundred thousand Men by Sea and Land; a reasonable Quota in all Conscience for that Ally, who apprehended least Danger, and expected least Advantage. Nor can we imagine that either of the Confederates, when the War began, would have been so unreasonable, as to refuse joining with us upon such a Foot; and expect that we should every Year go between three and four Millions in Debt, (which hath been our Case) because the *French* could hardly have contrived any Offers of a Peace so ruinous to us as such a War. Posterity will be at a Loss to conceive what Kind of Spirit could possess their Ancestors, who after ten Years Sufferings, by the unexampled Politicks of a Nation, maintaining a War by annually pawning it self; and during a short Peace, while they were looking back with

with Horror on the heavy Load of Debts they had contracted ; universally condemning those pernicious Counsels which had occasioned them ; racking their Invention for some Remedies or Expedients to mend their shattered Condition : I say, that these very People, without giving themselves Time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive War, for the same, or perhaps a greater Period of Time, and without any apparent Necessity. It is obvious in a private Fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same Expences, must every Year mortgage a greater Quantity of Land than he ~~did~~ before ; and as the Debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his Inability to pay it. By the same Proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten Years Wars, as we did by the former ; and if it were possible to continue it five Years longer at the same Rate, it would be as great a Burthen as the whole Twenty. This Computation, being so easy and trivial as it is almost a Shame to mention, Posterity will think that those who first advised the War, had either, not the Sense or the Honesty to consider.

AND as we have wasted our Strength and vital Substance in this profuse Manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to Ends at least very different from those for which we undertook the War, and often to effect others which after a Peace we may severely repent. This is the second Article I proposed to examine.

WE have now for ten Years together turned the whole Force and Expence of the War, where the Enemy was best able to hold us at a Bay ; where we could propose no manner of Advantage to our selves ; where it was highly impolitick to enlarge

our Conquests ; utterly neglecting that Part which would have saved and gained us many Millions ; which the perpetual Maxims of our Government teach us to pursue ; which would have soonest weakened the Enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy Peace, or enabled us to continue the War.

THOSE who are fond of continuing the War, cry up our constant Success at a most prodigious Rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than in all human Probability we had Reason to hope. Ten glorious Campaigns are passed, and now at last, like the sick Man, we are just expiring with all Sorts of good Symptoms. Did the Advisers of this War suppose it would continue ten Years, without expecting the Success we have had ; and yet at the same Time determine, that *France* must be reduced, and *Spain* subdued, by employing our whole Strength upon *Flanders*? Did they believe the last War left us in a Condition to furnish such vast Supplies for so long a Period, without involving Us and our Posterity in unextricable Debts ? If after such miraculous *Doings*, we are not yet in a Condition of bringing *France* to our Terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, although we should proceed without any Reverse of Fortune ; What could we look for in the ordinary Course of Things, but a *Flanders* War of at least twenty Years longer ? Do they indeed think a Town taken for the *Dutch*, is a sufficient Recompence to us for six Millions of Money ? Which is of so little Consequence to determine the War, that the *French* may yet hold out a dozen Years more, and afford a Town every Campaign at the same Price.

I SAY not this, by any Means, to detract from the Army or its Leaders. Getting into the Enemy's Lines, passing Rivers, and taking Towns, may be Actions

Actions attended with many glorious Circumstances: But when all this brings no real solid Advantage to us; when it hath no other End than to enlarge the Territories of the *Dutch*, and increase the Fame and Wealth of our *General*; I conclude, however it comes about, that Things are not as they should be; and that surely our Forces and Money might be better employed, both towards reducing our Enemy, and working out some Benefit to our selves. But the Case is still much harder: We are destroying many thousand Lives, exhausting our Substance, not for our own Interest, which would be but common Prudence; not for a Thing indifferent, which would be sufficient Folly, but perhaps to our own Destruction; which is perfect Madness. We may live to feel the Effects of our own Valour more sensibly than all the Consequences we imagine from the Dominions of *Spain* in the Duke of *Anjou*. We have conquered a noble Territory for the *States*, that will maintain sufficient Troops to defend it self; feed many hundred thousand Inhabitants, where all Encouragement will be given to introduce and improve Manufactures, which was the only Advantage they wanted; and which, added to their Skill, Industry and Parsimony, will enable them to under-sell us in every Market of the World.

OUR Supply of forty thousand Men, according to the first Stipulation, added to the Quota's of the Emperor and *Holland*, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an Army of near two hundred Thousand, exclusive of Garrisons; enough to withstand all the Power that *France* could bring against it; and we might have employed the rest much better, both for the common Cause and our own Advantage.

THE War in *Spain* must be imputed to the Credulity of our Ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the Imperial Court, that the *Spaniards* were so violently affected to the House of *Austria*, as upon the first Appearance there, with a few Troops under the Archduke, the whole Kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried, and found the Emperor to have deceived either Us or Himself: Yet there we drove on the War at a prodigious Disadvantage, with great Expence; and by a most corrupt Management, the only * General, who by a Course of Conduct and Fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into Possession of that Kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the Envy of his Rivals, disappointed by the Caprices of a young unexperienced Prince, under the Guidance of a rapacious *German* Ministry, and at last called Home in Discontent: By which our Armies both in *Spain* and *Portugal*, were made a Sacrifice to Avarice, ill Conduct, or Treachery.

IN common Prudence, we should either have pushed that War with the utmost Vigour, in so fortunate a Juncture, especially since the gaining that Kingdom was the great Point for which we pretended to continue the War; or at least when we had *found* or *made* that Design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a Management of it; but have kept our Troops on the Defensive in *Catalonia*, and pursued some other Way more effectual for distressing the common Enemy, and advantaging Our selves.

AND what a noble Field of Honour and Profit had we before us, wherein to employ the best of our Strength, which, against all the Maxims of

* *The Earl of Peterborough lately deceased.*

British Policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected? I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass, that the Style of *Maritime Powers*, by which our Allies, in a Sort of contemptuous Manner, usually couple us with the *Dutch*, did never put us in Mind of the Sea; and while some Politicians were shewing us the Way to *Spain* by *Flanders*, others by *Savoy* or *Naples*; that the *West-Indies* should never come into their Heads. With half the Charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original Quota of forty thousand Men in *Flanders*, and at the same Time, by our Fleets and Naval Forces, have so distressed the *Spaniards* in the North and South Seas of *America*, as to prevent any Returns of Money from thence, except in our own Bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a Maritime Power: This, with any common Degree of Success, would soon have compelled *France* to the Necessities of a Peace, and *Spain* to acknowledge the Arch-Duke. But while We, for ten Years, have been squandering away our Money upon the Continent, *France* hath been wisely engrossing all the Trade of *Peru*, going directly with their Ships to *Lima*, and other Ports, and there receiving Ingots of Gold and Silver for *French* Goods of little Value; which, beside the mighty Advantage to their Nation at present, may divert the Channel of that Trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast Sums at *Cadiz*, for our Goods sent thence to the *Spanish West-Indies*. All this we tamely saw and suffered, without the least Attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private Men at *Bristol*, who inflamed by a true Spirit of Courage and Industry, did, about three Years ago, with a few Vessels, fitted out at their own Charge; make a most successful

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ful Voyage into those Parts ; took one of the *Aquapulco* Ships ; very narrowly missed of the other ; and are lately returned laden with unenvied Wealth ; to shew us what might have been done with the like Management, by a publick Undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great Returns of Money to *France* and *Spain*, although we could not have taken it our selves. And, if it be true, as the Advocates for War would have it, that the *French* are now so impoverished ; in what Condition must they have been, if that Issue of Wealth had been stopped ?

BUT great Events often turn upon very small Circumstances. It was the Kingdom's Misfortune, that the Sea was not the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Element, otherwise the whole Force of the War would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the Advantage of his Country, which would then have gone Hand in Hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, That if we alone had made such an Attempt as this, *Holland* would have been jealous ; or if we had done it in Conjunction with *Holland*, the House of *Austria* would have been discontented. This hath been the Style of late Years ; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our Allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any Imagination, that while we are Confederates in a War with those who are to have the whole Profit, and who leave a double Share of the Burthen upon Us, we dare not think of any Design, although against the common Enemy, where there is the least Prospect of doing Good to our own Country, for Fear of giving Umbrage, and Offence to our Allies ; while we are ruining ourselves to conquer Provinces and Kingdoms for Them. I therefore confess with Shame, that this Objection

Objection is true: For it is very well known, that while the Design of Mr. Hill's Expedition remained a Secret, it was suspected in *Holland* and *Germany* to be intended against *Peru*; whereupon the *Dutch* made every where their publick Complaints, and the Ministers at *Vienna* talked of it as an *Insolence in the Queen to attempt such an Undertaking*; which, however it hath failed, partly by the Accidents of a Storm, and partly by the Stubbornnes or Treachery of some in that Colony, for whose Relief, and at whose Entreaty it was in some Measure designed; is no Objection at all to an Enterprize so well concerted, and with such fair Probability of Success.

It was something singular, that the *States* should express their Uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some Attempt in the *Spanish West-Indies*; because it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by Us or Them, shall belong to the Conqueror: Which is the only Article that I can call to Mind, in all our Treaties or Stipulations, with any View of Interest to this Kingdom; and for that very Reason, I suppose, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let those who think this too severe a Reflection, examine the whole Management of the present War by Sea and Land with all our Alliances, Treaties, Stipulations and Conventions; and consider, whether the Whole doth not look, as if some particular Care and Industry had been used, to prevent any Benefit or Advantage that might possibly accrue to *Britain*.

THIS Kind of Treatment from our two Principal Allies, hath taught the same Dialect to all the rest; so that there is not a petty Prince, whom we half maintain by Subsidies and Pensions, who is not ready upon every Occasion, to threaten Us, that

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that he will recal his Troops (although they must rob or starve at Home) if we refuse to comply with Him in any Demand, however so unreasonable.

UPON the third Head, I shall produce some Instances to shew how tamely we have suffered each of our Allies to infringe every Article in those Treaties and Stipulations by which they were bound ; and to lay the Load upon Us.

BUT before I enter upon this, which is a large Subject, I shall take Leave to offer a few Remarks on certain Articles in three of our Treaties ; which may let us perceive, how much those Ministers valued or understood the true Interest, Safety, or Honour of their Country.

We have made two Alliances with *Portugal*, an Offensive and Defensive : The first is to remain in Force only during the present War ; the second to be perpetual. In the Offensive Alliance, the Emperor, *England* and *Holland* are Parties with *Portugal* ; in the Defensive only We and the *States*.

UPON the first Article of the Offensive Alliance it is to be observed, that although the Grand Alliance, as I have already said, allow *England* and *Holland* to possess for their own, whatever each of them shall conquer in the *Spanish West Indies* ; yet there we are quite cut out, by consenting, that the Arch-Duke shall possess the Dominions of *Spain*, in as full a Manner as their late King *Charles*. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very Article in Favour of *Portugal*, by subsequent Stipulations ; where we agree, that King *Charles* shall deliver up *Estramadura*, *Vigo*, and some other Places to the *Portuguese*, as soon as we can conquer them from the Enemy. They who are guilty of so much Fol-

ly

ly and Contradiction, know best whether it proceeded from Corruption or Stupidity.

By two other Articles (besides the Honour of being Convoys and Guards in ordinary to the *Portuguese* Ships and Coasts) we are to guess the Enemy's Thoughts, and to take the King of *Portugal's* Word, whenever he hath a Fancy that he shall be invaded: We are also to furnish him with a Strength superior to what the Enemy intends to invade any of his Dominions with, let that be what it will: And, until we know what the Enemy's Forces are, his *Portuguese* Majesty is sole Judge what Strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an Invasion; and may send our Fleets, whenever he pleaseth, upon his Errands, to some of the furthest Parts of the World, or keep them attending upon his own Coasts, till he think fit to dismiss them. These Fleets must likewise be subject in all Things, not only to the King, but to his Viceroy, Admirals and Governors, in any of his foreign Dominions, when he is in a Humour to apprehend an Invasion; which, I believe, is an Indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered Nation.

In the Defensive Alliance with that Crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only *England* and *Holland* are Parties with them, the same Care, in almost the same Words, is taken for our Fleet to attend their Coasts and foreign Dominions, and to be under the same Obedience. We and the *States* are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand Men at our own Charge, which we are constantly to recruit, and these are to be subject to the *Portuguese* Generals.

In the Offensive Alliance we took no Care of having the Assistance of *Portugal*, whenever we should be invaded: But in this, it seems, we are wiser; for that

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that King is obliged to make War on *France* or *Spain*, whenever we or *Holland* are invaded by either ; but before this, we are to supply them with the same Forces both by Sea and Land, as if he were invaded himself : And this must needs be a very prudent and safe Course for a Maritime Power to take upon a sudden Invasion ; by which, instead of making Use of our Fleets and Arms for our own Defence, we must send them Abroad for the Defence of *Portugal*.

By the thirteenth Article we are told, what this Assistance is which the *Portuguese* are to give us, and upon what Conditions. They are to furnish ten Men of War ; and when *England* or *Holland* shall be invaded by *France* and *Spain* together, or by *Spain* alone ; in either of these Cases, those ten *Portuguese* Men of War are to serve only upon their own Coasts, where, no doubt, they will be of mighty Use to their Allies, and Terror to the Enemy.

How the *Dutch* were drawn to have a Part in either of these two Alliances, is not very material to enquire ; since they have been so wise as never to observe them, nor, I suppose, ever intended it, but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the Load upon us.

LET any Man read these two Treaties from the Beginning to the End, he will imagine, that the King of *Portugal* and his Ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their Allies to sign ; the whole Spirit and Tenor of them, quite through, running only upon this single Point, what We and *Holland* are to do for *Portugal*, without any Mention of an Equivalent, except those ten Ships, which at the Time when we have greatest Need of their Assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own Coasts.

THE

THE Barrier-Treaty between *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, was concluded at the *Hague* on the 29th of *October*, in the Year 1709. In this Treaty, neither Her Majesty nor Her Kingdoms have any Interest or Concern, farther than what is mentioned in the Second and the twentieth Articles: By the former, the States are to assist the Queen in defending the Act of Succession; and by the other not to treat of a Peace till *France* hath acknowledged the Queen and the Succession of *Hanover*, and promised to remove the *Pretender* out of that King's Dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the Safety and Interest of the *States-General*, that the Protestant Succession should be preserved in *England*; because such a Popish Prince as we apprehend, would infallibly join with *France* in the Ruin of that Republick. And the *Dutch* are as much bound to support our Succession, as they are tied to any Part of a Treaty of League Offensive and Defensive, against a Common Enemy, without any separate Benefit upon that Consideration. Her Majesty is in the full peaceable Possession of Her Kingdoms, and of the Hearts of Her People; among whom, hardly one in five thousand are in the *Pretender's* Interest. And whether the Assistance of the *Dutch*, to preserve a Right so well established, be an Equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant Articles in the rest of the Treaty, let the World judge. What an Impression of our Settlement must it give Abroad, to see our Ministers offering such Conditions to the *Dutch*, to prevail on them to be Guarantees of our Acts of Parliament! Neither, perhaps is it right, in Point of Policy or good Sense, that a foreign Power should be called in to confirm our Succession by way of Guarantee; but only to acknowledge it. Otherwise we put it out

out of the Power of our own Legislature to change our Succession, without the Consent of that Prince or State who is Guarantee, how much soever the Necessities of the Kingdom may require it.

As to the other Article, it is a natural Consequence that must attend any Treaty of Peace we can make with *France*; being only the Acknowledgment of Her Majesty as Queen of her own Dominions, and the Right of Succession by our own Laws, which no foreign Power hath any Pretence to dispute.

HOWEVER, in Order to deserve these mighty Advantages from the *States*, the rest of the Treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the Grand Alliance, which was the Foundation of the present War, the *Spanish Low Countries* were to be recovered and delivered to the King of *Spain*: But by this Treaty, that Prince is to possess nothing in *Flanders* during the War; and after a Peace, the *States* are to have the Military Command of about twenty Towns with their Dependences, and four hundred thousand Crowns a Year from the King of *Spain* to maintain their Garrisons. By which Means they will have the Command of all *Flanders*, from *Newport* on the Sea to *Namur* on the *Maeze*, and be entirely Masters of the *Pais de Waas*, the richest part of those Provinces. Further, they have Liberty to garrison any Place they shall think fit in the *Spanish Low-Countries*, whenever there is an Appearance of War; and consequently to put Garrisons into *Ostend*, or where else they please, upon a Rupture with *England*.

By this Treaty likewise, the *Dutch* will, in effect, be entire Masters of all the *Low-Countries*; may impose Duties, Restrictions in Commerce, and Prohibitions

bitions at their Pleasure ; and in that fertile Country may set up all sorts of Manufactures, particularly the Woollen, by inviting the disengaged Manufacturers in *Ireland*, and the *French* Refugees, who are scattered all over *Germany*. And, as this Manufacture increaseth abroad, the cloathing People of *England* will be necessitated, for want of Employment, to follow ; and in few Years, by help of the low Interest of Money in *Holland*, *Flanders* may recover that beneficial Trade which we got from them : The Landed Men of *England* will, then be forced to re-establish the Staples of Wool abroad, and the *Dutch*, instead of being only the Carriers, will become the original Possessors of those Commodities, with which the greatest Part of the Trade of the World is now carried on. And as they increase their Trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their Strength at Sea, and that ours must lessen in Proportion.

ALL the Ports in *Flanders* are to be subject to the like Duties that the *Dutch* shall lay upon the *Scheld*, which is to be closed on the Side of the *States* : Thus all other Nations are, in effect, shut out from Trading with *Flanders*. Yet in the very same Article it is said, that the *States* shall be favoured in all the *Spanish* Dominions as much as *Great Britain*, or as the People most favoured. We have conquered *Flanders* for them, and are in a worse Condition, as to our Trade there, than before the War began. We have been the great Support of the King of *Spain*, to whom the *Dutch* have hardly contributed any thing at all : and yet they are to be equally favoured with us in all his Dominions. Of all this the Queen is under the unreasonable Obligation of being Guarantee, and that they shall possess their Barrier, and their Four hundred thousand Crowns a Year, even before a Peace.

IT is to be observed, that this Treaty was only Signed by one of our Plenipotentiaries: And I have been told, that the other was heard to say, He would rather lose his Right-hand, than set it to such a Treaty. Had he spoke those Words in due Season, and loud enough to be heard on this Side the Water, considering the Credit he then had at Court, he might have saved much of his Country's Honour, and got as much to himself: Therefore, if the Report be true, I am inclined to think He only *SAYD* it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary Circumstances were wanting in the Entrance upon this Treaty: but the Ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the Honour of the Crown, and the Safety of their Country, than not ratify what one of their Favourites had transacted.

LET me now consider in what manner our Allies have observed those Treaties they made with Us, and the several Stipulations and Agreements pursuant to them.

By the Grand Alliance between the Empire, *England* and *Holland*, we were to assist the other two, *totis viribus*, by Sea and Land. By a Convention subsequent to this Treaty, the Proportions which the several Parties should contribute towards the War, were adjusted in the following manner. The Emperor was obliged to furnish ninety Thousand Men against *France*, either in *Italy*, or upon the *Rhine*: *Holland*, to bring sixty Thousand into the Field in *Flanders*, exclusive of Garrisons; and we forty Thousand. In Winter, 1702. which was the next Year, the Duke of *Marlborough* proposed the raising of ten Thousand Men more, by way of Augmentation, and to carry on the War with greater Vigour; to which the Parliament agreed, and the *Dutch* were to raise the same Number. This

was

was upon a *Par*, directly contrary to the former Stipulation, whereby our Part was to be a Third less than theirs ; and therefore it was granted, with a Condition, that *Holland* should break off all Trade and Commerce with *France*. But, this Condition was never executed, the *Dutch* only amusing us with a specious Declaration till our Session of Parliament was ended ; and the following Year it was taken off, by concert between our General and the *States*, without any Reason assigned for the Satisfaction of the Kingdom. The next and some ensuing Campaigns, further additional Forces were allowed by Parliament for the War in *Flanders* ; and in every new Supply, the *Dutch* gradually lessened their Proportions ; although the Parliament addressed the Queen, that the *States* might be desired to observe them according to Agreement ; which had no other Effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their Troops Nominal Corps, as they did by keeping up the Numbers of Regiments, but sinking a fifth Part of the Men and Money. So that now Things are just inverted, and in all new Levies we contribute a Third more than the *Dutch*, who at first were obliged to the same Proportion more than us.

BESIDES, the more Towns we conquer for the *States*, the worse Condition we are in towards reducing the Common Enemy, and consequently of putting an End to the War. For, they make no Scruple of employing the Troops of their Quota, towards Garrisoning every Town as fast as it is taken ; directly contrary to the Agreement between us, by which all Garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived by several Steps to such a Height, that there are at present in the Field, not so many Forces under the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Command

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in *Flanders*, as *Britain* alone maintains for that Service, nor have been for some Years past.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* having entered the Enemies Lines, and taken *Bouchain*; formed the Design of keeping so great a Number of Troops, and particularly of Cavalry, in *Lille*, *Tournay*, *Doway*, and the Country between, as should be able to harrass all the Neighbouring Provinces of *France* during the Winter; prevent the Enemy from erecting their Magazines, and by consequence from subsisting their Forces next Spring; and render it impossible for them to assemble their Army another Year, without going back behind the *Soame* to do it. In order to effect this Project, it was necessary to be at an Expence extraordinary of Forage for the Troops; for building Stables, finding Fire and Candle for the Soldiers, with other incident Charges. The Queen readily agreed to furnish Her Share of the first Article, that of the Forage, which only belonged to Her. But, the *States* insisting that Her Majesty should likewise come into a Proportion of the other Articles, which in Justice belonged totally to them: She agreed even to that, rather than a Design of this Importance should fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the *Dutch* refused their Consent, till the time was past for putting it in Execution, even in the Opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain Article in the Treaties of Contributions, submitted to by such of the *French* Dominions as pay them to the *States*, was the principal Cause of defeating this Project; since one great Advantage to have been gained by it, was, as before is mentioned, to have hindred the Enemy from erecting their Magazines; and one Article in those Treaties of Contributions is, that the Product of those Countries shall pass free and unmolested.

So

So that the Question was reduced to this short Issue; whether the *Dutch* should lose this poultry Benefit, or the Common Cause an Advantage of such mighty Importance.

THE Sea being the Element where we might most probably carry on the War with any Advantage to our selves; it was agreed that we should bear five Eighths of the Charge in that Service, and the *Dutch* the other Three: And by the Grand Alliance, whatever we or *Holland* should conquer in the *Spanish West-Indies*, was to accrue to the Conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this Maritime Ally of ours, would have made up in their Fleet, what they fell short in their Army; but quite otherwise, they never once furnished their Quota either of Ships or Men; or if some few of their Fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing, for they immediately separated to look to their Merchants, and protect their Trade. And we may remember very well when these Guarantees of our Succession, after having not one Ship for many Months together in the *Mediterranean*, sent that Part of their Quota thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they allarmed us with the Rumour of an Invasion. And last Year, when Sir *James Wishart* was dispatched into *Holland* to expostulate with the *States*, and to desire they would make good their Agreements, in so important a Part of the Service; he met with such a Reception as ill became a Republick to give, that were under so many great Obligations to us; in short, such a one, as those only deserve, who are content to take.

IT hath likewise been no small Inconvenience to us, that the *Dutch* are always slow in paying their Subsidies; by which Means the Weight and Pressure

of the Payment lies upon the Queen, as well as the Blame, if Her Majesty be not very exact; nor will even this always content our Allies. For in *July 1711*, the King of *Spain* was paid all his Subsidies to the first of *January* next; nevertheless he hath since complained for want of Money; and his Secretary threatened, that if we would not further supply his Majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although King *Charles* had not at that Time, one third of the Troops for which he was paid; and even those he had, were neither paid nor cloathed.

I CANNOT forbear mentioning here another Passage concerning Subsidies; to shew what Opinion Foreigners have of our Easiness, and how much they reckon themselves Masters of our Money whenever they think fit to call for it. The Queen was by Agreement to pay Two hundred thousand *Crowns* a Year to the *Prussian* Troops; the *States* One hundred thousand; and the Emperor only Thirty thousand, for Recruiting; which his Imperial Majesty never paid. Prince *Eugene* happening to pass by *Berlin*, the Ministers of that Court applied themselves to him for Redress in this Particular; and his Highness very frankly promised them, that in Consideration of this Deficiency, *Britain* and the *States* should increase their Subsidies to Seventy thousand *Crowns* more between them; and that the Emperor should be punctual for the time to come: This was done by that Prince, without any Orders or Power whatsoever. The *Dutch* very reasonably refused consenting to it; but the *Prussian* Minister here, making his Applications at our Court, prevailed on us to agree to our Proportion, before we could hear what Resolution would be taken in *Holland*. It is therefore to be hoped, that his *Prussian* Majesty,

Majesty, at the End of this War, will not have the same Cause of Complaint, which he had at the Close of the last; that his Military-Chest was emptier by twenty thousand Crowns, than at the time that War began.

THE Emperor, as we have already said, was by Stipulation to furnish ninety thousand Men against the Common Enemy, as having no Fleets to maintain, and in Right of his Family being most concerned in the Success of the War. However, this Agreement hath been so ill observed, that from the Beginning of the War to this Day, neither of the two last Emperors had ever Twenty thousand Men on their own Account in the Common Cause, excepting once in *Italy*, when the Imperial Court exerted it self in a Point they have much more at Heart than that of gaining *Spain* or the *Indies* to their Family. When they had succeeded in their Attempts on the Side of *Italy*, and observed our blind Zeal for pushing on the War at all Adventures, they soon found out the most effectual Expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less to make large Presents to one single Person, than to pay an Army; and turn to as good Account. They thought they could not put their Affairs into better Hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their Battles.

BESIDES, it appeared by several Instances, how little the Emperor regarded his Allies, or the Cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the Empire it self was secure. It is known enough, that he might several Times have made a Peace with his discontented Subjects in *Hungary*, upon Terms not at all unbefitting either his Dignity, or Interest: But he rather chose to sacrifice the whole Alliance to his private Passion, by entirely subdu-

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ing and enslaving a miserable People, who had but too much Provocation to take up Arms to free themselves from the Oppressions under which they were groaning : Yet this must serve as an Excuse for breaking his Agreement, and diverting so great a Body of Troops, which might have been employed against *France*.

ANOTHER Instance of the Emperor's Indifference, or rather Dislike to the Common Cause of the Allies, is the Busines of *Toulon*. This Design was indeed discovered here at home, by a Person whom every body knows to be the Creature of a certain *Great Man*, at least as much noted for his Skill in Gaming, as in Politicks, upon the base mercenary End of getting Money by Wagers ; which was then so common a Practice, that I remember a Gentleman in Busines, who having the Curiosity to inquire how Wagers went upon the *Exchange*, found some People, deep in the Secret, to have been concerned in that Kind of Traffick ; as appeared by Præmiums named for Towns, which no body but those behind the Curtain could suspect. However, although this Project had gotten Wind by so scandalous a Proceeding, yet *Toulon* might probably have been taken, if the Emperor had not thought fit, in that very Juncture, to detatch twelve or fifteen thousand Men to seize *Naples*, as an Enterprize that was more his private and immediate Interest. But it was manifest, that his Imperial Majesty had no Mind to see *Toulon* in Possession of the Allies ; for even with these Discouragements the Attempt might have yet succeeded, if Prince *Eugene* had not thought fit to oppose it ; which cannot be imputed to his own Judgment, but to some Politick Reasons of his Court. The Duke of *Savoy* was for attacking the Enemy, as soon as our Army arrived ; but when the Mareschal de

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Thebesse's Troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the Place, in the Condition we were at that Time, was a Farce and a Jest. Had *Toulon* fallen then into our Hands, the Maritime Power of *France* would, in a great Measure, have been destroyed.

But a much greater Instance than either of the foregoing, how little the Emperor regarded Us or Our Quarrel, after all we had done to save his Imperial Crown, and to assert the Title of his Brother to the Monarchy of *Spain*; may be brought from the Proceedings of that Court not many Months ago. It was judged, that a War carried upon the Side of *Italy*, would cause a great Diversion of the *French* Forces, wound them in a very tender Part, and facilitate the Progress of our Arms in *Spain*, as well as *Flanders*. It was proposed to the Duke of *Savoy* to make this Diversion; and not only a Diversion during the Summer, but the Winter too, by taking Quarters on this Side of the Hills. Only in order to make him willing and able to perform this Work, two Points were to be settled. It was necessary to end the Dispute between the Imperial Court, and his Royal Highness; which had no other Foundation, than the Emperor's refusing to make good some Articles of that Treaty; on the Faith of which, the Duke engaged in the present War, and for the Execution thereof *Britain* and *Holland* became Guarantees, at the Request of the late Emperor *Leopold*. To remove this Difficulty, the Earl of *Peterborow* was dispatched to *Vienna*; got over some Part of those Disputes, to the Satisfaction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and had put the Rest in a fair Way of being accommodated, at the Time the Emperor *Joseph* died. Upon which great Event, the Duke of *Savoy* took the Resolution of putting himself at the Head of the Army, although the whole

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whole Matter were not finished, since the Common Cause required his Assistance ; and that until a new Emperor were elected, it was impossible to make good the Treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only Thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the Imperial Court with eight thousand Men, before the End of the Campaign. Mr. *Whit-worth* was sent to *Vienna* to make this Proposal ; and it is credibly reported, that he was impowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand Pounds for the March of those eight thousand Men ; if he found it was want of Ability, and not Inclination, that hindered the sending them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said, the Ministers of that Court did not so much as give him an Opportunity to tempt them with any particular Sums ; but cut off all his Hopes at once, by alledging the impossibility of complying with the Queen's Demands, upon any Consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old Excuse of the War in *Hungary*, which was then brought to an End : They had nothing to offer but some general Speculative Reasons, which it would expose them to repeat ; and so, after much Delay, and many trifling Pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an Assistance ; to the Ruin of a Project that would have more terrified *France*, and caused a greater Diversion of their Forces, than a much more numerous Army in any other Part. Thus, for want of eight thousand Men, for whose Winter Campaign the Queen was willing to give forty thousand Pounds ; and for want of executing the Design I lately mentioned, of hindering the Enemy from erecting Magazines, towards which Her Majesty was ready, not only to bear Her own Proportion, but a Share of that which the *States* were obliged to ; our Hopes of taking Winter Quarters

ters in the North and South Parts of *France* are eluded, and the War left in that Method, which is like to continue it longest. Can there an Example be given in the whole Course of this War, where we have treated the pettiest Prince, with whom we had to deal, in so contemptuous a Manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our Assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate Apprehensions of being invaded?

WHEN *Portugal* came, as a Confederate into the Grand Alliance, it was stipulated, that the Empire, *England* and *Holland*, should each maintain four thousand Men of their own Troops in that Kingdom, and pay between them a Million of Pata-
coons to the King of *Portugal*, for the Support of twenty eight thousand *Portuguese*; which Number of forty Thousand, was to be the Confederate Army against *Spain* on the *Portugal* Side. This Treaty was ratified by all the three Powers. But in a short Time after, the Emperor declared himself un-
able to comply with his Part of the Agreement, and so left the two Thirds upon Us; who very gene-
rously undertook that Burthen, and at the same Time two Thirds of the Subsidies for Maintenance of the *Portuguese* Troops. But neither is this the worst Part of the Story: For, although the *Dutch* did in-
deed send their own Quota of four thousand Men to *Portugal* (which however they would not agree to, but upon Condition, that the other two Thirds should be supplied by us;) yet they never took Care to recruit them; For in the Year 1706, the *Portuguese*, *British* and *Dutch* Forces, having marched with the Earl of *Galway* into *Castile*, and by the no-
ble Conduct of that General being forced to retire into *Valentia*, it was found necessary to raise a new Army

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Army on the *Portugal* Side ; where the Queen hath, at several Times, encreased Her Establishment to ten Thousand five hundred Men ; and the *Dutch* never re-placed one single Man, nor paid one Penny of their Subsidies to *Portugal* in six Years.

THE *Spanish* Army on the Side of *Catalonia* is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand Men (exclusive of *Portugal* :) And here the War hath been carried on almost entirely at our Cost. For, this whole Army is paid by the Queen, excepting only seven Battalions and fourteen Squadrons of *Dutch* and *Palatinus* ; and even fifteen Hundred of these are likewise in our Pay ; besides the Sums given to King *Charles* for Subsidies and the Maintenance of his Court. Neither are our Troops at *Gibraltar* included within this Number. And further, we alone have been at all the Charge of transporting the Forces first sent from *Genoa* to *Barcelona* ; and of all the Imperial Recruits from Time to Time : And have likewise paid vast Sums as Levy-Money, for every individual Man and Horse so furnished to Recruit ; although the Horses were scarce worth the Price of Transportation. But this hath been almost the constant Misfortune of our Fleet, during the present War ; instead of being employed on some Enterprize for the Good of the Nation, or even for the Protection of our Trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting Soldiers.

WE have actually conquered all *Bavaria*, *Ulm*, *Ausburg*, *Landau*, and a great Part of *Alsace*, for the Emperor : And by the Troops we have furnished, the Armies we have paid, and the Diversions we have given to the Enemies Forces, have chiefly contributed to the Conquests of *Milan*, *Mantua*, and *Mirandola* ; and to the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Modena*. The last Emperor drained the

the Wealth of those Countries into his own Coffers, without increasing his Troops against *France* by such mighty Acquisitions ; or yielding to the most reasonable Requests we have made.

Of the many Towns we have taken for the *Dutch*, we have consented, by the Barrier-Treaty, that all those which were not in Possession of *Spain*, upon the Death of the late Catholick King, shall be Part of the *States* Dominions ; and that they shall have the Military Power in the most considerable of the rest ; which is, in effect, to be the absolute Sovereigns of the Whole. And the *Hollanders* have already made such good Use of their Time, that, in Conjunction with our General, the Oppressions of *Flanders* are much greater than ever.

AND this Treatment, which we have received from our two principal Allies, hath been pretty well copied by most other Princes in the Confederacy, with whom we have any Dealings. For Instance ; seven *Portuguese* Regiments after the Battle of *Almanza*, went off, with the Rest of that broken Army, to *Catalonia* ; the King of *Portugal* said, he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his Country ; the Queen consented therefore to do it Herself, provided the King would raise as many more to supply their Place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which, his Subsidies were constantly paid him by my Lord *Godolphin*, for almost four Years, without any Deduction upon Account of those seven Regiments ; directly contrary to the seventh Article of our Offensive Alliance with that Crown, where it is agreed, that a Deduction shall be made out of those Subsidies, in Proportion to the Number of Men wanting in that Complement, which the King is to maintain. But whatever might have been

been the Reasons for this Proceeding, it seems they are above the Understanding of the * present Lord Treasurer ; who, not entring into those Refinements, of paying the *publick* Money upon *private* Considerations, hath been so uncourtly as to stop it. This Disappointment, I suppose, hath put the Court of *Lisbon* upon other Expedients of raising the Price of Forage, so as to force us either to lessen our Number of Troops, or be at double Expence in maintaining them ; and this at a Time when their own Product, as well as the Import of Corn, was never greater ; and of demanding a Duty upon the Soldiers Cloaths we carried over for those Troops, which have been their sole Defence against an inveterate Enemy ; and whose Example might have infused Courage, as well as taught them Discipline, if their Spirits had been capable of receiving either.

IN Order to augment our Forces every Year, in the same Proportion as those, for whom we Fight, diminish theirs ; we have been obliged to hire Troops from several Princes of the Empire, whose Ministers and Residents here, have perpetually importuned the Court with unreasonable Demands, under which our late Ministers thought fit to be Passive. For, those Demands were always backed with a Threat to recall their Soldiers, which was a Thing not to be heard of, because it might *Discontent the Dutch*. In the mean Time those Princes never sent their Contingent to the Emperor, as by the Laws of the Empire they are obliged to do ; but gave for their Excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

* *Earl of Oxford.*

BUT,

BUT, if all this be true: If, according to what I have affirmed, we began this War contrary to Reason: If, as the other Party themselves, upon all Occasions, acknowledge, the Success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect: If, after all our Success, we have not made that Use of it, which in Reason we ought to have done: If, we have made weak and foolish Bargains with our Allies; suffered them tamely to break every Article, even in those Bargains to our Disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with Insolence and Contempt, at the very Instant when we were gaining Towns, Provinces, and Kingdoms for them, at the Price of our Ruin, and without any Prospect of Interest to ourselves: If we have consumed all our Strength in attacking the Enemy on the strongest Side, where (as the old Duke of Schomberg expressed it) *to engage with France, was to take a Bull by the Horns*; and left wholly unattempted, that Part of the War, which could only enable us to continue, or to end it. If all this, I say, be our Case, it is a very obvious Question to ask; by what Motives, or what Management, we are thus become the *Dupes and Bubbles of Europe?* Sure it cannot be owing to the Stupidity arising from the Coldness of our Climate; since those among our Allies, who have given us most Reason to complain, are as far removed from the Sun as our selves.

IF in laying open the real Causes of our present Misery, I am forced to speak with some Freedom, I think it will require no Apology. Reputation is the smallest Sacrifice Those can make us, who have been the Instruments of our Ruin; because it is That, for which in all Probability they have the least Value. So that in exposing the Actions of such Persons, it cannot be said, properly speaking,

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to do them an Injury. But, as it will be some Satisfaction to our People, to know by whom they have been so long abused ; so it may be of great Use to us and our Posterity, not to trust the Safety of their Country in the Hands of those, who act by such Principles, and from such Motives.

I HAVE already observed, that when the Counsels of this War were debated in the late King's Time, a certain *Great Man* was then so averse from entring into it, that he rather chose to give up his Employment, and tell the King he could serve him no longer. Upon that Prince's Death, although the Grounds of our Quarrel with *France* had received no Manner of Addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his Sentiments ; for the Scene was quite changed ; his Lordship, and the Family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an Alliance, were in the highest Credit possible with the Queen : The Treasurer's Staff was ready for his Lordship ; the Duke was to command the Army, and the Dutches by her Employments, and the Favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest Her Majesty's Person ; by which the whole Power, at home and abroad, would be devolved upon that Family. This was a Prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the Truth, it could not be easily withstood by any who have so keen an Appetite for Wealth or Power. By an Agreement subsequent to the Grand Alliance, we were to assist the *Dutch* with forty thousand Men, all to be commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*. So that whether this War were prudently begun or not, it is plain, that the true Spring or Motive of it, was the aggrandizing a particular Family ; and in short, a War of the *General* and the *Ministry*, and not of the *Prince* or *People* ; since those

those very Persons were against it when they knew the Power, and consequently the Profit, would be in other Hands.

WITH these Measures fell in all that Set of People, who are called the *monied Men*; such as had raised vast Sums by trading with Stocks and Funds, and lending upon great Interest and Præmiums; whose perpetual Harvest is War, and whose beneficial Way of Traffick must very much decline by a Peace.

IN that whole Chain of Encroachments made upon us by the *Dutch*, which I have above deduced; and under those several gross Impositions from other Princes; if any one should ask, why our General continued so easy to the last? I know no other Way so probable, or indeed so charitable to account for it, as by that unmeasureable Love of Wealth, which his best Friends allow to be his predominant Passion. However, I shall wave any Thing that is personal upon this Subject. I shall say nothing of those great Presents made by several Princes, which the Soldiers used to call Winter-Foraging, and said it was better than that of the Summer; of two and an half *per Cent.* substracted out of all the Subsidies we pay in those Parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable Sum: And lastly, of the grand Perquisites in a long successful War, which are so amicably adjusted between Him and the *States*.

BUT when the War was thus begun, there soon fell in other Incidents here at home, which made the Continuance of it necessary for those, who were the chief Advisers. The *Whigs* were at that Time out of all Credit or Consideration: The reigning Favourites had always carried what was called the *Tory Principles*, at least as high, as our Constitution.

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could bear ; and most others in great Employments, were wholly in the Church-Interest. These last, among whom several Persons of the greatest Merit, Quality, and Consequence, were not able to endure the many Instances of Pride, Insolence, Avarice and Ambition, which those Favourites began so early to discover ; nor to see them presuming to be sole Dispensers of the Royal Favour. However, their Opposition was to no Purpose ; they wrestled with too great a Power, and were soon crushed under it. For, those in Possession finding they could never be quiet in their Usurpations, while others had any Credit, who were at least upon an equal Foot of Merit, began to make Overtures to the discarded *Whigs*, who would be content with any Terms of Accommodation. Thus commenced this *Solemn League and Covenant*, which hath ever since been cultivated with so much Application. The great Traders in Money were wholly devoted to the *Whigs*, who had first raised them. The Army, the Court, and the Treasury, continued under the old *Despotick* Administration : The *Whigs* were received into Employment, left to manage the Parliament, cry down the landed Interest, and worry the Church. Mean Time, our Allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial Structure had no true Foundation in the Hearts of the People, resolved to make their best Use of it, as long as it should last. And the General's Credit being raised to a great Height at home by our Successes in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* began their gradual Impositions ; lessening their Quotas, breaking their Stipulations, garrisoning the Towns we took for them, without supplying their Troops ; with many other Infringements : All which we were forced to submit to, because the General was *made easy* ; because

because the monied Men at home were fond of the War ; because the *Whigs* were not yet firmly settled ; and because that exorbitant Degree of Power, which was built upon a supposed Necessity of employing particular Persons, would go off in a Peace. It is needless to add, that the Emperor, and other Princes, followed the Example of the *Dutch*, and succeeded as well, for the same Reasons.

I HAVE here imputed the Continuance of the War to the mutual Indulgence between our General and Allies, wherein they both so well found their Accounts ; to the Fears of the *Money-changers*, lest their *Tables* should be overthrown ; to the Designs of the *Whigs*, who apprehended the Loss of their Credit and Employments in a Peace ; and to those at home, who held their immoderate Engrossments of Power and Favour, by no other Tenure, than their own Presumption upon the Necessity of Affairs. The Truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what Unanimity and Concert these several Parties acted towards that great End.

WHEN the Vote passed in the House of Lords, against any Peace without *Spain* being restored to the *Austrian* Family ; the Earl of *Wharton* told the House, That it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover *Spain* ; but however, there were certain Reasons, why such a Vote should be made at that Time ; which Reasons wanted no Explanation : For, the General and the Ministry having refused to accept very advantageous Offers of a Peace, after the Battle of *Ramellies*, were forced to take in a Set of Men, with a previous Bargain, to skreen them from the Consequences of that Mis-carriage. And accordingly, upon the first succeeding Opportunity that fell, which was the Prince

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of Denmark's Death, the chief Leaders of the Party were brought into several great Employments.

THUS, when the Queen was no longer able to bear the Tyranny and Insolence of those ungrateful Servants, who, as they *waxed the Fatter*, did but *kick the more*; our two great Allies abroad, and our Stock-jobbers at home, took immediate Alarm; applied the nearest Way to the Throne, by Memorials and Messages, jointly directing Her Majesty not to change Her Secretary or Treasurer; who for the true Reasons that these officious Intermeddlers demanded their Continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least Degree of Trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the Interest of their Native Country, to those Princes, who in their Turns, were to do what they could to support Them in Power at home.

THUS it plainly appears, that there was a Conspiracy on all Sides, to go on with those Measures, which must perpetuate the War; and a Conspiracy founded upon the Interest and Ambition of each Party; which begat so firm a Union, that instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think, how it came to be broken. The Prudence, Courage, and Firmness of Her Majesty in all the Steps of that great Change, would, if the Particulars were truly related, make a very shining Part in Her Story: Nor is Her Judgment less to be admired, which directed Her in the Choice of perhaps the only Persons who had Skill, Credit, and Resolution enough to be Her Instruments in overthrowing so many Difficulties.

SOME would pretend to lessen the Merit of this, by telling us, that the Rudeness, the Tyranny, the Oppression, the Ingratitude of the late Favourites towards their Mistress, were no longer to be born.

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They produce Instances to shew, how Her Majesty was pursued through all Her Retreats, particularly at *Windfor*; where, after the Enemy had possessed themselves of every Inch of Ground, they at last attacked and stormed the Castle, forcing the Queen to fly to an adjoining Cottage, pursuant to the Advice of *Solomon*, who tells us, *It is better to live on the House Tops, than with a scolding Woman in a large House.* They would have it, that such continued ill Usage was enough to inflame the meekest Spirit: They blame the Favourites in point of Policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the Queen should be at an End of Her Patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another Opinion, and think their Proceedings were right. For, nothing is so apt to break even the bravest Spirits, as a continual Chain of Oppressions: One Injury is best defended by a Second, and this by a Third. By these Steps, the old *Masters of the Palace* in *France* became *Masters of the Kingdom*; and by these Steps, a *General during Pleasure*, might have grown into a *General for Life*, and a *General for Life* into a *King*. So that I still insist upon it as a Wonder, how her Majesty, thus besieged on all Sides, was able to extricate Herself.

HAVING thus mentioned the real Causes, although disguised under specious Pretences, which have so long continued the War; I must beg Leave to reason a little, with those Persons who are against any Peace, but what they call a *good One*; and explain themselves, that no Peace can be *good*, without an entire Restoration of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this Part of the Subject, will have little Influence on those, whose particular Ends or *Designs*

signs of any Sort, lead them to wish the Continuance of the War. I mean the General and our Allies abroad ; the Knot of late Favourites at home ; the Body of such, as traffick in Stocks ; and lastly, that Set of factious Politicians, who were so violently bent, at least, upon *Clipping* our Constitution in Church and State. Therefore, I shall not apply my self to any of these, but to all others indifferently, whether *Whig* or *Tory*, whose private Interest is best answered by the Welfare of their Country. And, if among these there be any, who think we ought to fight on till King *Charles* be quietly settled in the Monarchy of *Spain*, I believe there are several Points, which they have not thoroughly considered.

FOR, First ; It is to be observed, that this Resolution against any Peace without *Spain*, is a new Incident, grafted upon the Original Quarrel, by the Intrigues of a Faction among us, who prevailed to give it the Sanction of a Vote in both Houses of Parliament, to justify those, whose Interest lay in perpetuating the War. And, as this Proceeding was against the Practice of all Princes and States, whose Intentions were fair and honourable ; so is it contrary to common Prudence, as well as Justice. I might add, that it was impious too, by presuming to controul Events, which are only in the Hands of God. Ours and the *States* Complaint against *France* and *Spain*, are deduced in each of our Declarations of War ; and our Pretensions specified in the *Eighth Article* of the Grand Alliance : But there is not in any of these, the least mention of demanding *Spain* for the House of *Austria*, or of refusing any Peace without that Condition. Having already made an Extract from both Declarations of War, I shall here give a Translation of the Eighth Article

Article in the Grand Alliance, which will put this Matter out of Dispute.

THE EIGHTH
ARTICLE
OF THE

Grand ALLIANCE.

WHEN the War is once undertaken, none of the Parties shall have the Liberty to enter upon a Treaty of Peace with the Enemy, but jointly, and in concert with the others. Nor is Peace to be made, without having first obtained a just and reasonable Satisfaction for his Cæsarean Majesty, and for his Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and a particular Security to the Lords the States-General, of their Dominions, Provinces, Titles, Navigation, and Commerce; and a sufficient Provision, that the Kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the Government of the same Person; or that the same Man may never be King of both Kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in Possession of the Spanish West-Indies: and that they may not have the Liberty of Navigation, for Conveniency of Trade, under any Pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed, that the Subjects of Great-Britain and Holland, may have full Power to use and enjoy all the same Privileges, Rights, Immunities and Liberties of Commerce, by Land and Sea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the Places and Countries,

Countries, which the late King of Spain, at the Time of his Death was in Possession of, as well in Europe, as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the Subjects of both, or each Nation, could use and enjoy, by virtue of any Right, obtained before the Death of the said King of Spain, either by Treaties, Conventions, Custom, or any other way whatsoever.

HERE, we see the Demands intended to be insisted on by the Allies upon any Treaty of Peace, are, a just and reasonable Satisfaction for the Emperor and King of *Great Britain*, a Security to the *States-General* for their Dominions, &c. and a sufficient Provision, that *France* and *Spain* be never united under the same Man, as King of both Kingdoms. The rest relates to the Liberty of Trade and Commerce for Us and the *Dutch*; but not a Syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of *Anjou*.

BUT, to know how this new Language of *No Peace without Spain*, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

IT was the Partition Treaty, which begot the Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*: For this naturally led the *Spaniards* to receive a Prince supported by a great Power, whose Interest, as well as Affection, engaged them to preserve that Monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in Favour of another Family, who must expect Assistance from a Number of Confederates, whose principal Members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous Treaty parcelled out the Monarchy of *Spain*.

THUS the Duke of *Anjou* got into the full Possession of all the Kingdoms and States belonging to that

that Monarchy, as well as in the old World as the new. And, whatever the House of *Austria* pretended from their Memorials to Us and the *States*; it was at that Time but too apparent, that the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* were on the Duke's Side.

HOWEVER, a War was resolved; and in Order to carry it on with greater Vigour, a Grand Alliance formed, wherein the Ends propos'd to be obtained, are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God in the Course of this War, to bless the Armies of the Allies with remarkable Successes; by which we were soon put into a Condition of demanding and expecting such Terms of a Peace, as we propos'd to our selves when we began the War. But instead of this, our Victories only served to lead us on to further visionary Prospects: Advantage was taken of the sanguin Temper, which so many Successes had wrought the Nation up to; new Romantick Views were propos'd, and the old, reasonable, sober Design was forgot.

THIS was the Artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the Publick became poorer; and who after the Resolutions, which the two Houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the War with Safety to themselves, till Malt and Land were mortgaged; till a general Excise were established; and the *dizieme denier* raised, by *Collectors in red Coats*: And this was just the Circumstance which it suited their Interests to be in.

THE House of *Austria* approved this Scheme with Reason; since whatever would be obtained by the Blood and Treasure of others, was to accrue to that Family; while they only lent their Name to the Cause.

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THE *Dutch* might, perhaps, have grown resty under their Burthen ; but Care was likewise taken of That by a *Barrier-Treaty* made with the *States*, which deserveth such Epithets as I care not to bestow : But may perhaps consider it, at a proper Occasion, in a *Discourse* by itself.

By this Treaty, the Condition of the War, with Respect to the *Dutch*, was widely altered : They fought no longer for Security, but for Grandeur ; and we, instead of labouring to make them *safe*, must beggar ourselves to render them *formidable*.

WILL any one contend, that if at the Treaty of *Gertruydenburg*, we could have been satisfied with such Terms of a Peace, as we proposed to our selves by the Grand Alliance, the *French* would not have allowed them ? It is plain, they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on, when the War began : And they had Reason to grant, as well as we to demand them ; since Conditions of Peace do certainly turn upon Events of War. But surely there is some Measure to be observed in this : Those who have defended the Proceedings of our Negotiators at the Treaty of *Gertruydenburg*, dwell very much upon their Zeal and Patience, in endeavouring to work the *French* up to their Demands, but say nothing to justify those Demands, or the Probability that *France* would ever accept them. Some of the Articles in that Treaty were so very Extravagant, that in all Human Probability we could not have obtained them by a successful War of forty Years. One of them was inconsistent with common Reason ; wherein the Confederates reserved to themselves full Liberty of demanding what further Conditions they should think fit ; and in the mean Time, *France* was to deliver up several of their strongest

strongest Towns in a Month. These Articles were very gravely signed by our Plenipotentiaries, and those of *Holland*; but not by the *French*, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the Secretary of the Embassy; and the Ministers here prevailed on the Queen to execute a Ratification of Articles, which only one Part had signed: This was an Absurdity in Form, as well as in Reason; because the usual Form of a Ratification is with a Preamble, shewing, *That whereas our Ministers and those of the Allies, and of the Enemy, have signed, &c. We Ratify, &c.* * The Person who brought over the Articles, said in all Companies, (and perhaps believed) that it was a Pity we had not demanded more; for the *French* were in a Disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our Plenipotentiaries affected to have the same Concern; and particularly, that we had not obtained some further Security for the Empire on the *Upper Rhine*.

WHAT could be the Design of all this Grimace, but to amuse the People, and raise Stocks for their Friends in the Secret, to sell to Advantage? I have too great a Respect for the Abilities of those who acted in this Negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other Issue from it, than what we found by the Event. Give me leave to suppose the Continuance of the War was the Thing at Heart, among those in Power, both Abroad and at Home; and then I can easily shew the Consistency of their Proceedings; otherwise, they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those, who insisted on such wild Demands, ever sincerely intend a Peace? Did they really think, that going on with the War

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HORATIO WALPOLE, Esq; Secretary to that Embassy.

was more eligible for their Country, than the least Abatement of those Conditions? Was the smallest of them worth six Millions a Year, and an hundred thousand Men's Lives? Was there no Way to provide for the Safety of *Britain*, or the Security of its Trade, but by the *French* King's turning his own Arms to beat his Grandson out of *Spain*? If these able Statesmen were so truly concerned for our Trade, which they made the Pretence of the War's Beginning, as well as Continuance; why did they so neglect it in those very Preliminaries, where the Enemy made so many Concessions, and where all that related to the Advantage of *Holland*, or the other Confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us, was to be left to a general Treaty: No Tariff agreed on with *France* or the *Low Countries*, only the *Schelde* was to remain shut, which must have ruined our Commerce with *Antwerp*. Our Trade with *Spain* was referred the same Way; but this they will pretend to be of no Consequence; because that Kingdom was to be under the House of *Austria*; and we have already made a Treaty with King *Charles*. I have indeed heard of a Treaty made by Mr. *Stanhope*, with that Prince, for settling our Commerce with *Spain*: But whatever it were, there was another between Us and *Holland*, which went Hand in Hand with it, I mean that of Barrier; wherein a Clause was inserted, by which all Advantages proposed for *Britain*, are to be in common with *Holland*.

ANOTHER Point which I doubt, those have not considered, who are against any Peace without *Spain*; is, that the Face of Affairs in *Christendom*, since the Emperor's Death, hath been very much changed. By this Accident the Views and Interests of

of several Princes and States in the Alliance, have taken a new Turn, and I believe, it will be found that Ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already, by changing our Measures, with regard to a Peace, while our Affairs continued in the same Posture ; and it will be too much in Conscience to blunder again by *not* changing the first, when the Others are so much altered.

To have a Prince of the *Austrian* Family on the Throne of *Spain*, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the House of *Bourbon* ; but to have the Empire and *Spanish* Monarchy united in the same Person, is a dreadful Consideration, and directly opposite to that wise Principle, on which the Eighth Article of the Alliance is founded.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent Character of the *Austrian* Princes, the wretched **OEconomy** of that Government, the want of a Naval Force, the remote Distance of their several Territories from each other ; would never suffer an Emperor, although at the same Time King of *Spain*, to become formidable : On the contrary, that his Dependance must continually be on *Great Britain* ; and the Advantages of Trade, by a Peace founded upon that Condition, would soon make us Amends for all the Expences of the War.

IN Answer to this, Let us consider the Circumstances we must be in, before such a Peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become not only Poor for the Present, but reduced by further Mortgages to a State of Beggary, for endless Years to come. Compare such a weak Condition as this with so great an Accession of Strength to *Austria* ; and then determine how much an Emperor, in such a State of Affairs, would either fear or need *Britain*.

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CONSIDER, that the Comparison is not formed between a Prince of the House of *Austria*, Emperor and King of *Spain*, and between a Prince of the *Bourbon* Family, King of *France* and *Spain*; but between a Prince of the latter only King of *Spain*, and one of the former uniting both Crowns in his own Person.

WHAT Returns of Gratitude can we expect, when we are no longer wanted? Hath all that we have hitherto done for the Imperial Family been taken as a Favour, or only received as the Due of the *Augustissima Casa*?

WILL the House of *Austria* yield the least Acre of Land, the least Article of strained and even usurped Prerogative, to resettle the Minds of those Princes in the Alliance, who are alarmed at the Consequences of this Turn of Affairs, occasioned by the Emperor's Death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine, that those Princes, who dread the overgrown Power of the *Austrian*, as much as that of the *Bourbon* Family, will continue in our Alliance, upon a System contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For Instance; What can the Duke of *Savoy* expect in such a Case? Will he have any Choice left him, but that of being a Slave and a Frontier to *France*; or a *Vassal*, in the utmost Extent of the Word, to the Imperial Court? Will he not therefore, of the two Evils choose the least; by submitting to a Master, who hath no immediate Claim upon him, and to whose Family he is nearly allied; rather than to another, who hath already revived several Claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

NOR are the *Dutch* more inclined than the rest of *Europe*, that the *Empire* and *Spain* should be united in King *Charles*, whatever they may now pretend.

pretend. On the contrary, it is known to several Persons, that upon the Death of the late Emperor Joseph, the States resolved, that those two Powers should not be joined in the same Person; And this they determined as a fundamental Maxim, by which they intended to proceed. So that *Spain* was first given up by *Them*; and since they maintain no Troops in that Kingdom, it should seem, that they understand the Duke of *Anjou* to be lawful Monarch.

THIRDLY, Those who are against any Peace without *Spain*, if they be such as no Way find their private Account by the War, may perhaps change their Sentiments, if they will reflect a little upon our present Condition.

I HAD two Reasons for not sooner publishing this Discourse: The first was, because I would give Way to others, who might argue very well upon the same Subject, from general Topicks and Reason, altho' they might be ignorant of several Facts, which I had the Opportunity to know. The Second was, because I found it would be necessary, in the Course of this Argument, to say something of the State to which this War hath reduced us: At the same Time I knew, that such a Discovery ought to be made as late as possible; and at another Juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

IT is the Folly of too many, to mistake the Echo of a *London* Coffee-house for the Voice of the Kingdom. The City Coffee-houses have been for some Years filled with People, whose Fortunes depend upon the *Bank*, *East-India*, or some other Stock: Every new Fund to these, is like a new Mortgage to an Usurer, whose Compassion for a young Heir is exactly the same with that of a Stock-

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Stockjobber to the landed Gentry. At the Court End of the Town, the like Places of Resort are frequented either by Men out of Place, and consequently Enemies to the present Ministry ; or by Officers of the Army : No wonder then, if the general Cry, in all such Meetings, be against any Peace either *with* Spain or *without* ; which, in other Words, is no more than this ; That discontented Men desire another Change of Ministry ; that Soldiers would be glad to keep their Commissions ; and, that the Creditors have Money still, and would have the Debtors borrow on at the old extorting Rates, while they have any Security to give.

Now, to give the most ignorant Reader some Idea of our present Circumstances, without troubling him or my self with Computations in form : Every Body knows, that our Land and Malt Tax amount annually to about two Millions and an Half. All other Branches of the Revenue are mortgaged to pay Interest, for what we have already borrowed. The yearly Charge of the War is usually about six Millions ; to make up which Sum, we are forced to take up, on the Credit of new Funds, about three Millions and an Half. This last Year the computed Charge of the War came to above a Million more, than all the Funds the Parliament could contrive were sufficient to pay Interest ; and so we have been forced to divide a Deficiency of twelve hundred thousand Pounds among the several Branches of our Expence. This is a Demonstration, that if the War be to last another Campaign, it will be impossible to find Funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the Malt Tax ; or by some other Method equally desperate.

IF the Peace be made this Winter; we are then to consider, what Circumstances we shall be in towards paying a Debt of about fifty Millions, which is a sixth Part of the Purchase of the whole Island, if it were to be sold.

TOWARDS clearing ourselves of this monstrous Incumbrance, some of these Annuities will expire or pay off the Principal in thirty, forty, or an hundred Years; the Bulk of the Debt must be lessened gradually by the best Management we can, out of what will remain of the Land and Malt Taxes, after paying Guards and Garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our Fleet in the Time of Peace. I have not Skill enough to compute what will be left, after these necessary Charges, towards annually clearing so vast a Debt; but believe it must be very little: However, it is plain that both these Taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the Government, as because we have no other Means for paying off the Principal. And so likewise must all the other Funds remain for paying the Interest. How long a Time this must require; how steady an Administration, and how undisturbed a State of Affairs, both at Home and Abroad; let others determine.

HOWEVER, some People think all this very reasonable; and that since the Struggle hath been for Peace and Safety; Posterity, who is to partake the Benefit, ought to share in the Expence: As if at the breaking out of this War, there had been such a Conjunction of Affairs, as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful, that our Ancestors, in all their Wars, should never fall under such a Necessity; that we meet no Examples of it in *Greece* and *Rome*; that no other Nation in *Europe* ever knew any Thing like it,

except *Spain*, about an hundred and twenty Years ago ; which they drew upon themselves, by their own Folly, and have suffered for it ever since : No doubt, we shall teach Posterity Wisdom, but they will be apt to think the Purchase too dear ; and I wish they may stand to the Bargain we have made in their Names.

IT is easy to entail Debts on succeeding Ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them ; but how to ensure Peace for any Term of Years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human Nature ever cease to have the same Passions ? Princes to entertain Designs of Interest or Ambition ; and Occasions of Quarrel to arise ? May not we our selves, by the Variety of Events and Incidents which happen in the World, be under a Necessity of recovering Towns out of the very Hands of those, for whom we are now ruining our Country to take them ? Neither can it be said, that those *States*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a Condition as our selves ; for, by the Circumstances of our Situation, and the Impositions of our Allies, we are more exhausted, than either they or the Enemy ; and by the Nature of our Government, the Corruption of our Manners, and the Opposition of Factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

IT will, no doubt, be a mighty Comfort to our Grand-children, when they see a few Rags hung up in *Westminster-Hall*, which cost an hundred Millions, whereof they are paying the Arrears, and boasting, as Beggars do, that their Grandfathers were Rich and Great.

I HAVE often reflected on that mistaken Notion of Credit, so boasted of by the Advocates of the late Ministry : Was not all that Credit built upon Funds

Funds, raised by the landed Men, whom they now so much hate and despise? Is not the greatest Part of those Funds raised from the Growth and Product of Land? Must not the whole Debt be entirely paid, and our Fleets and Garrisons be maintained, by the Land and Malt Tax, after a Peace? If they call it Credit to run ten Millions in Debt, without Parliamentary Security, by which the Publick is defrauded of almost Half; I must think such Credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither hath any Thing gone further to ruin the Nation, than their boasted Credit. For my own Part, when I saw this false Credit sink, upon the Change of the Ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good Omen. It seemed, as if the young extravagant Heir had got a new Steward, and was resolved to look into his Estate before Things grew desperate, which made the Usurers forbear feeding him with Money, as they were wont to do.

SINCE the monied Men are so fond of War, I should be glad, they would furnish out one Campaign at their own Charge: It is not above six or seven Millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed Men, they will have their full Principal and Interest, at *6 per Cent.* remaining of all the Money they ever lent to the Government.

WITHOUT this Resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the War upon the same Foot. I have already observed, that the last Funds of Interest fell short above a Million, although the Persons most conversant in Ways and Means employed their utmost Invention; so that of Necessity we must be still more

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defective next Campaign. But, perhaps our Allies will make up this Deficiency on our Side, by greater Efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the *Emperor* and *Holland* failed this Year in several Articles; and signified to us some Time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same Proportions in the next. We have gained a noble Barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire: The Emperor, however sanguin he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, and his other Acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless War, for the Recovery of *Spain*, to which his Allies the *Dutch* will neither give their Assitance, nor Consent. So that since we have done their Busines; since they have no further Service for our Arms, and we have no more Money to give them: And lastly, since we neither desire any Recompence, nor expect any Thanks, we ought, in Pity, to be dismissed, and have Leave to shift for our selves. They are ripe for a Peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we, to recover, if possible, the Effects of their Hardships upon us. The first Overtures from *France*, are made to *England*, upon safe and honourable Terms: We, who bore the Burthen of the War, ought, in Reason to have the greatest Share in making the Peace. If we do not hearken to a Peace, others certainly will; and get the Advantage of us there, as they have done in the War. We know, the *Dutch* have perpetually threatned us, that they would enter into separate Measures of a Peace; and by the Strength of that Argument, as well as by other powerful Motives, prevailed on those who were taken at the Helm, to comply with them on any Terms, rather than put an End to a War, which every

every Year brought them such great Acceffions to their Wealth and Power. Whoever falls off, a Peace will follow ; and then we must be content with such Conditions, as our Allies, out of their great Concern for our Safety and Interest, will please to chuse. They have no further Occasion for fighting ; they have gained their Point, and they now tell us, it is *our War* ; so that in common Justice, it ought to be *our Peace*.

ALL we can propose, by the desperate Steps of pawning our Land or Malt Tax, or erecting a General Excise, is only to raise a Fund of Interest, for running us annually four Millions further in Debt, without any Prospect of ending the War so well, as we can do at present : And when we have sunk the only un-engaged Revenues we had left, our Incumbrances must of Necessity remain perpetual.

WE have hitherto lived upon *Expedients*, which in Time will certainly destroy any Constitution, whether Civil or Natural ; and there was no Country in *Christendom* had less Occasion for them, than ours. We have dieted a healthy Body into a Consumption, by plying it with Physick, instead of Food : Art will help us no longer ; and if we cannot recover by letting the Remains of Nature work, we must inevitably die.

WHAT Arts have been used to possess the People with a strong Delusion, that *Britain* must infallibly be ruined, without the Recovery of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*? Making the Safety of a great and powerful Kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an Event, which, even after a War of miraculous Successes, proves impracticable : As if Princes and great Ministers could find no Way of settling the publick Tranquillity, without changing the Possessions of Kingdoms, and forcing Sovereigns

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reigns upon a People against their Inclinations. Is there no Security for the Island of *Britain*, unless a King of *Spain* be dethroned by the Hands of his Grandfather? Has the Enemy no cautionary Towns and Sea-ports, to give us for securing Trade? Can he not deliver us Possession of such Places, as would put him in a worse Condition, whenever he should perfidiously renew the War? The present King of *France* hath but few Years to live, by the Course of Nature, and doubtless, would desire to end his Days in Peace: Grandfathers in private Families are not observed to have great Influence on their Grandsons; and I believe they have much less among Princes. However, when the Authority of a Parent is gone, is it likely that *Philip* will be directed by a Brother, against his own Interest, and that of his Subjects? Have not those two Realms their separate Maxims of Policy, which must operate in Times of Peace? These at least are Probabilities, and cheaper by six Million a Year than recovering *Spain*, or continuing the War, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common Question is, if we must now surrender *Spain*, what have we been fighting for all this while? The Answer is ready: We have been fighting for the Ruin of the publick Interest, and the Advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raise the Wealth and Grandeur of a particular Family: To enrich Usurers and Stockjobbers; and to cultivate the pernicious Designs of a Faction, by destroying the landed Interest. The Nation begins now to think these *Blessings* are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a Peace.

But the Advocates on the other Side cry out, that we might have had a better Peace, than is now in Agitation, above two Years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that by Parity of Reason

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we must expect one just so much worse, about two Years hence. If those in Power could then have given us a better Peace, more is their Infamy and Guilt, that they did it not ; why did they insist upon Conditions, which they were certain would never be granted ? We allow it was in their Power to have put a good End to the War, and left the Nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with as answerable to God, their Country, and Posterity, that the bleeding Condition of their Fellow-Subjects, was a Feather in the Balance with their private Ends.

WHEN we offer to lament the heavy Debts and Poverty of the Nation, it is pleasant to hear some Men answer all that can be said, by crying up the Power of *England*, the Courage of *England*, the inexhaustible Riches of *England*. I have heard a

* Man very sanguine upon this Subject, with a good Employment for Life, and a hundred thousand Pounds in the Funds, bidding us *Take Courage* ; and *Warranting, that all would go well*. This is the Style of Men at Ease, *who lay heavy Burthens upon others, which they will not touch with one of their Fingers*. I have known some People such ill Computers, as to imagine the many Millions in Stocks and Annuities, are so much real Wealth in the Nation ; whereas every Farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in *Holland, Germany, and Spain* ; and the landed Men, who now pay the Interest, must at last pay the Principal.

FOURTHLY, Those who are against any Peace without *Spain*, have, I doubt, been ill informed, as to the low Condition of *France*, and

* *The late Lord Halifax.*

the mighty Consequences of our Successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that after the Battle of *Ramellies*, the *French* were so discouraged with their frequent Losses, and so impatient for a Peace, that their King was resolved to comply on any reasonable Terms. But when his Subjects were informed of our exorbitant Demands, they grew jealous of his Honour, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the War at any Hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his Authority ; and the Supplies he hath received from the *Spanish West-Indies*, which in all are computed, since the War, to amount to four hundred Millions of *Livres*, (and all in *Specie*) have enabled him to pay his Troops. Besides, the Money is spent in his own Country ; and he hath since waged War in the most thrifty Manner, by acting on the Defensive ; compounding with us every Campaign for a Town, which costs us fifty Times more than its Worth, either as to the Value, or the Consequences. Then, he is at no Charge of a Fleet, further than providing Privateers, wherewith his Subjects carry on a Piratical War at their own Expence, and he shares in the Profit ; which hath been very considerable to *France*, and of infinite Disadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual Losses we have suffered to an immense Value, but by the general Discouragement of Trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the Circumstances of that Government, where the Prince is Master of the Lives and Fortunes of so mighty a Kingdom, shews that Monarch to be not so funk in his Affairs, as we have imagined, and have long flattered our selves with the Hopes of.

THOSE who are against *any Peace without Spain*, seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our Victories,

Victories, and other Successes, to have been of greater Consequence, than they really were.

WHEN our Armies take a Town in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* are immediately put into *Possession*, and we at home make *Bonfires*. I have sometimes pitied the deluded People, to see them squandering away their Fewel to so little purpose. For Example; What is it to us that *Bouchain* is taken, about which the warlike Politicians of the Coffee-House make such a Clutter? What though the Garrison surrendered Prisoners of War, and in Sight of the Enemy? We are not now in a Condition to be fed with Points of Honour. What Advantage have we, but that of spending three or four Millions more to get another Town for the *States*, which may open them a new Country for *Contributions*, and increase the Perquisites of the General?

IN that War of ten Years, under the late King, when our Commanders and Soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in Comparison of what they are at present; we lost Battles and Towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those Gentlemen have better learned their Trade; yet we bore up then, as the *French* do now: Nor was there any Thing decisive in their Successes: They grew weary, as well as we, and at last consented to a Peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise *Treaty of Partition*, which revived the Flame, that hath lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern Way of making War, but that the Side, which can hold out longest, will end it with most Advantage. In such a close Country as *Flanders*, where it is carried on by Sieges, the Army, that acts offensively, is at a much greater Expence of Men and Money; and there is hardly a Town taken in the common Forms,

Forms, where the Besiegers have not the worse of the Bargain. I never yet knew a Soldier, who would not affirm, that any Town might be taken, if you were content to be at the Charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much Blood and Treasure, the rest is all a regular, established Method, which cannot fail. When the King of *France*, in the Times of his Grandeur, sat down before a Town, his Generals and Engineers would often fix the Day, when it should surrender. The Enemy, sensible of all this, hath for some Years past avoided a Battle, where he hath so ill succeeded, and taken a surer Way to consume us, by letting our Courage evaporate against Stones and Rubbish, and sacrificing a single Town to a Campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose, than we to take.

LASTLY, Those who are so violently against *any Peace*, without *Spain* being restored to the House of *Austria*, have not, I believe, cast their Eye upon a Cloud gathering in the North, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a Storm upon our Heads.

THE Northern War hath been on Foot, almost ever since our Breach with *France*: The Success of it various; but one Effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or later it would involve us in its Consequences, and that, whenever this happened, let our Success be never so great against *France*, from that Moment *France* would have the Advantage.

By our Guaranty of the Treaty of *Travendall*, we were obliged to hinder the King of *Denmark* from engaging in a War with *Sweden*. It was at that Time understood by all Parties, and so declared,

ed, even by the *British* Ministers, that this Engagement specially regarded *Denmark*'s not assisting King *Augustus*. But, however, if this had not been so, yet our Obligation to *Sweden* stood in Force, by Virtue of former Treaties with that Crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one, concluded at the *Hague*, by Sir *Joseph Williamson*, and Monsieur *Lilienroot*, about the latter End of the late King's Reign.

HOWEVER, the War in the North proceeded; and our not assisting *Sweden*, was at least as well excused by the War, which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his Contingent to the Empire, whereof he is a Member, was excused by the Pressures he lay under, having a Confederacy to deal with.

IN this War the King of *Sweden* was Victorious; and what Dangers were we not then exposed to? What Fears were we not in? He marched into *Saxony*, and if he had really been in the *French* Interest, might at once have put us under the greatest Difficulties. But the Torrent turned another Way, and he contented himself with imposing on his Enemy the Treaty of *Alt Ransadt*; by which King *Augustus* makes an absolute Cession of the Crown of *Poland*, renounceth any Title to it, acknowledgeth *Stanislaus*; and then, both he and the King of *Sweden*, join in desiring the Guaranty of *England* and *Holland*. The Queen did, indeed, not give this Guaranty in Form; but, as a Step towards it, the Title of *King* was given to *Stanislaus*, by a Letter from her Majesty; and the strongest Assurances were given to the *Swedish* Minister, in her Majesty's Name, and in a Committee of Council, that the Guaranty should speedily be granted; and that in

in the mean While, it was the same Thing as if the Forms were passed.

IN 1708, King *Augustus* made the Campaign in *Flanders*; what Measures he might at that Time take, or of what Nature the Arguments might be that he made Use of, is not known: But immediately after, he breaketh through all he had done, marcheth into *Poland*, and reassumes the Crown.

AFTER this we apprehended, that the Peace of the Empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an Act of Guaranty, for the Neutrality of it. The King of *Sweden* refused, upon several Accounts, to submit to the Terms of this Treaty; particularly, because we went out of the Empire to cover *Poland* and *Jutland*; but did not go out of it to cover the Territories of *Sweden*.

LET us therefore consider, what is our Case at present. If the King of *Sweden* return, and get the better, he will think himself under no Obligation of having any Regard to the Interests of the Allies; but will naturally pursue, according to his own Expression, *His Enemy, wherever he finds him*. In this Case the *Corps* of the Neutrality is obliged to oppose him, and so we are engaged in a second War, before the first be ended.

IF the Northern Confederates succeed against *Sweden*, how shall we be able to preserve the Balance of Power in the North, so essential to our Trade, as well as in many other Respects? What will become of that great Support of the *Protestant Interest* in *Germany*, which is the Footing that the *Swedes* now have in the Empire? Or, who shall answer, that these Princes, after

after they have settled the North to their Minds, may not take a Fancy to look Southward, and make our Peace with *France* according to their own Schemes?

AND lastly, if the King of *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and other Princes, whose Dominions lie contiguous, be forced to draw from those Armies which act against *France*; we must live in hourly Expectation of having those Troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this Recal may happen in the Midst of a Siege, or on the Eve of a Battle. Is it therefore our Interest to toil on in a ruinous War, for an impracticable End, till one of these Cases shall happen; or to get under Shelter before the Storm?

THERE is no doubt, but the present Ministry (provided they could get over the Obligations of Honour and Conscience) might find their Advantage in advising the Continuance of the War, as well as the last did, although not in the same Degree, after the Kingdom hath been so much exhausted. They might prolong it, till the Parliament desire a Peace; and in the mean Time leave them in full Possession of Power. Therefore it is plain, that their Proceedings at present, are meant to serve their Country, directly against their private Interest; whatever Clamour may be raised by those, who for the vilest Ends, would remove Heaven and Earth to oppose their Measures. But they think it infinitely better to accept such Terms as will secure our Trade, find a sufficient Barrier for the *States*, give *reasonable Satisfaction* to the Emperor, and restore the Tranquility of *Europe*, although without adding *Spain* to the Empire: Rather than

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go on in a languishing Way, upon the vain Expectation of some improbable Turn, for the Recovery of that Monarchy out of the *Bourbon Family*; and at last be forced to a worse Peace, by some of the Allies falling off, upon our utter Inability to continue the War.

The E N D.



In the Month of August, 1710, a weekly Paper, called, The EXAMINER, began to be published. It was esteemed to be the Work of several eminent Hands, among which were reckoned my Lord B——KE; Dr. ATTERBURY, B. of R. Mr. PRIOR, and some Others. However it came about, the general Opinion is, That those Persons proceeded no further than to the first twelve Papers; after which, it seems to be agreed, that the Undertaking was carried on by the supposed Author of the four preceding Volumes, who began with Number 13, and ended at Number 50. For, although the Paper continued many Months after to be published, under the Title of, The EXAMINER; yet by the Inequality of the Performance, it was manifest to all judicious Persons, that the aforesaid supposed Author had not the least Share in them. Several of the supposed Author's Friends, who were assistant in correcting the foregoing Volumes, have done us the like Favour in revising these two Volumes.

THE

THE EXAMINER.

No. 13. Thursday, November 2, 1710.

— *Longa est Inuria, longæ
Ambages, sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.*

IT is a Practice I have generally followed, to converse in equal Freedom with the deserving Men of both Parties; and it was never without some Contempt, that I have observed Persons wholly out of Employment, affect to do otherwise: I doubted whether any Man could owe so much to the Side he was of, altho' he were retained by it; but without some great Point of Interest, either in Possession or Prospect, I thought it was the Mark of a low and narrow Spirit.

It is hard, that for some Weeks past, I have been forced, in my own Defence, to follow a Proceeding that I have so much condemned in others. But several of my Acquaintance, among the declining Party, are grown so insufferably Peevish and Spleenick, profess such violent Apprehensions for the Publick, and represent the State of Things in such formidable Ideas, that I find myself disposed to Share in their Afflictions, although I know them to be groundless

less and imaginary ; or, which is worse, purely affected. To offer them Comfort one by one, would be not only an endless, but a disobliging Task. Some of them, I am convinced, would be less melancholy, if there were more Occasion. I shall therefore, instead of hearkning to further Complaints, employ some Part of this Paper for the Future, in letting such Men see, that their natural or acquired Fears are ill-grounded, and their artificial Ones as ill-intended. That all our present Inconveniencies are the Consequence of the very Counsels they so much admire, which would still have increased, if those had continued : And that neither our Constitution in Church or State, could probably have been long preserved, without such Methods as have been already taken.

THE late Revolutions at Court, have given Room to some specious Objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning Men, just as they had taken them up on the Credit of others, who have worse Designs. They wonder the Queen would chuse to change her Ministry at this Juncture, and thereby give Uneasiness to a General who hath been so long successful Abroad ; and might think himself injured, if the entire Ministry were not of his own Nomination. That there were few Complaints of any Consequence against the late Men in Power, and none at all in Parliament ; which on the Contrary, passed Votes in favour of the Chief Minister. That if her Majesty had a Mind to introduce the other Party, it would have been more seasonable after a Peace, which now we have made desperate, by spiriting the *French*, who rejoice at these Changes, and by the Fall of our Credit, which unqualifies us for continuing the War. That the Parliament,

liament; so untimely dissolved, had been diligent in their Supplies, and dutiful in their Behaviour. That, one Consequence of these Changes appears already in the Fall of the Stocks: That, we may soon expect more and worse: And lastly, That, all this naturally tends to break the Settlement of the Crown, and call over the *Pretender*.

THESE and the like Notions are plentifully scattered abroad, by the Malice of a ruined Party, to render the QUEEN and her Administration odious, and to inflame the Nation. And these are what, upon Occasion, I shall endeavour to overthrow, by discovering the Falshood and Absurdity of them.

IT is a great Unhappiness, when in a Government constituted like ours, it should be so brought about, that the Continuance of a War must be for the Interest of vast Numbers (Civil as well as Military) who otherwise would have been as unknown as their Original. I think our present Condition of Affairs, is admirably described by two Verses in *Lycan*.

*Hinc usura Vorax, avidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, & multis utile bellum.*

Which, without any great Force upon the Words, may be thus translated.

Hence are derived those exorbitant Interests and Annuities; hence those large Discounts for Advances, and prompt Payment; hence publick Credit is shaken, and hence great Numbers find their Profit in prolonging the War.

IT is odd, that among a free Trading People, as we call ourselves, there should so many be found to close in with those Counsels, who have been ever averse from all Overtures towards a Peace. But yet there is no great Mystery in the Matter. Let any Man observe the Equipages in this Town ; he shall find the greater Number of those who make a Figure, to be a Species of Men quite different from any that were ever known before the Revolution ; consisting either of Generals and Colonels, or of such whose whole Fortunes lie in Funds and Stocks : So that *Power*, which, according to the old Maxim, was used to follow *Land*, is now gone over to *Money* ; and the Country Gentleman is in the Condition of a young Heir, out of whose Estate a Scrivener receives half the Rents for Interest, and hath a Mortgage on the Whole ; and is therefore always ready to feed his Vices and Extravagancies while there is any Thing left. So that if the War continue some Years longer, a landed Man will be little better than a Farmer at a rack Rent, to the Army, and to the publick Funds.

IT may perhaps be worth inquiring from what Beginnings, and by what Steps we have been brought into this desperate Condition : And in search of this we must run up as high as the Revolution.

Most of the Nobility and Gentry who invited over the Prince of *Orange*, or attended him in his Expedition, were true Lovers of their Country and its Constitution, in Church and State ; and were brought to yield to those Breaches in the Succession of the Crown, out of a Regard to the Necessity of the Kingdom, and the Safety of the People, which did, and could only, make them lawful ; but without Intention of drawing such a Practice into

into Precedent, or making it a standing Measure by which to proceed in all Times to come ; and therefore we find their Counsels ever tended to keep Things as much as possible in the old Course. But soon after, an under Sett of Men, who had nothing to lose, and had neither born the Burthen nor Heat of the Day, found means to whisper in the King's Ear, that the Principles of Loyalty in the Church of *England*, were wholly inconsistent with the *Revolution*. Hence began the early Practice of caressing the Dissenters, reviling the Universities, as Maintainers of Arbitrary Power, and reproaching the Clergy with the Doctrines of Divine-Right, Passive-Obedience, and Non-Resistance. At the same Time, in order to fasten wealthy People to the New Government, they proposed those pernicious Expedients of borrowing Money by vast *Premiums*, and at exorbitant Interest : A Practice as old as *Eumenes*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, who setting up for himself after the Death of his Master, persuaded his principal Officers to lend him great Sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own Security.

THIS introduced a Number of new dextrous Men into Busines and Credit : It was argued, that the War could not last above two or three Campaigns ; and that it was easier for the Subject to raise a Fund for paying Interest, than to tax them annually to the full Expence of the War. Several Persons who had small or encumbered Estates, sold them, and turned their Money into those Funds to great Advantage : Merchants, as well as other monied Men, finding Trade was dangerous, pursued the same Method : But the War continuing, and growing more expensive, Taxes were encreased, and Funds multiplied every Year, 'till they have

arrived at the monstrous Height we now behold them. And that which was at first a Corruption, is at last grown necessary, and what every good Subject must now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wish it might soon have an End ; because it is with a Kingdom, as with a private Fortune, where every new Incumbrance adds a double Weight. By this Means the Wealth of a Nation, that used to be reckoned by the Value of Land, is now computed by the Rise and Fall of Stocks : And although the Foundation of Credit be still the same, and upon a Bottom that can never be shaken ; and although all Interest be duly paid by the Publick, yet through the Contrivance and Cunning of *Stock-Jobbers*, there hath been brought in such a Complication of Knavery and Couzenage, such a Mystery of Iniquity, and such an unintelligible *Jargon* of Terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other Age or Country of the World. I have heard it affirmed by Persons skilled in these Calculations, that if the Funds appropriated to the Payment of Interest and Annuities, were added to the yearly Taxes, and the Four-Shilling Aid strictly exacted in all Counties of the Kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, supply the Occasions of the War, at least such a Part, as in the Opinion of very able Persons, had been at that Time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a Question, whether any wise Prince or State, in the Continuance of a War, which was not purely defensive, or immediately at his own Door, did ever propose that his Expence should perpetually exceed what he was able to impose annually upon his Subjects ? Neither if the War last many Years longer, do I see how the next Generation will be able to begin another ; which in the Course of human Affairs, and according

ing to the various Interests and Ambition of Princes, may be as necessary for them as it hath been for us. And if our Fathers had left us as deeply involved as we are like to leave our Children, I appeal to any Man what sort of Figure we should have been able to make these twenty Years past. Besides, neither our Enemies, nor Allies, are upon the same Foot with us in this Particular. *France* and *Holland*, our nearest Neighbours, and the farthest engaged, will much sooner recover themselves after a War. The first, by the absolute Power of the Prince, who being Master of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, will quickly find Expedients to pay his Debts : And so will the other, by their prudent Administration, the Greatness of their Trade, their wonderful Parsimony, the Willingness of their People to undergo all kind of Taxes, and their Justice in appplotting as well as collecting them. But above all, we are to consider, that *France* and *Holland* fight in the Continent, either upon, or near their own Territories ; and the greatest Part of the Money circulates among themselves ; whereas ours crosses the Sea, either to *Flanders*, *Spain*, or *Portugal* ; and every Penny of it, whether in Specie or Returns, is so much lost to the Nation for ever.

UPON these Considerations alone, it was the most prudent Course imaginable in the QUEEN, to lay hold of the Disposition of the People for changing the Parliament and Ministry at this Juncture ; and extricating her self, as soon as possible out of the Pupilage of those who found their Accounts only in perpetuating the War. Neither have we the least Reason to doubt, but the ensuing Parliament will assist her MAJESTY with the utmost Vigour, until her Enemies *again* be brought to sue for Peace, and *again* offer such Terms as will make it both

honourable and lasting ; only with this Difference, that the Ministry perhaps will not *again* refuse them.

*Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
Rara Juventus.*

No. 14. Thursday, November 9, 1710.

*E quibus bi vacuas implent Sermonibus aures,
Hi narrata ferunt alio : mensuraque ficti
Crescit, & auditis aliquid novus adjicit autor,
Illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error,
Vanaque Lætitia est, consternatique Timores,
Seditioque recens, dubioque autore füssurri.*

IA M prevailed on, through the Importunity of Friends, to interrupt the Scheme I had begun in my last Paper, by an Essay upon the Art of *Political Lying*. We are told, *The Devil is the Father of Lyes*, and *was a Lyar from the Beginning*; so that, beyond Contradiction, the Invention is old: And, which is more, his first Essay of it was purely *Political*, employed in undermining the Authority of his Prince, and seducing a third Part of the Subjects from their Obedience. For which he was driven down from Heaven, where (as *Milton* expresseth it) he had been VICE-ROY of a great *Western Province*; and forced to exercise his Talent in inferior Regions among other fallen Spirits, or poor deluded Men, whom he still daily tempts to *his own Sin*, and will ever do so till he be *chained in the bottomless Pit*.

BUT

BUT although the Devil be the Father of *Lyes*, he seems, like other great Inventors, to have lost much of his Reputation, by the continual Improvements that have been made upon him.

WHO first reduced *Lying* into an Art, and adapted it to *Politicks*, is not so clear from History; although I have made some diligent Enquiries: I shall therefore consider it only according to the modern System, as it hath been cultivated these twenty Years past in the Southern Part of our own Island.

THE Poets tell us, That after the Giants were overthrown by the Gods, the *Earth* in revenge produced her last Offspring, which was *Fame*. And the Fable is thus interpreted; That when Tumults and Seditions are quieted, Rumours and false Reports are plentifully spread through a Nation. So that by this Account, *Lying* is the last Relief of a routed, *earth-born, rebellious Party* in a State. But here, the Moderns have made great Additions, applying this Art to the gaining of Power, and preserving it, as well as revenging themselves after they have lost it: As the same Instruments are made use of by Animals to feed themselves when they are hungry, and bite those that tread upon them.

BUT the same Genealogy cannot always be admitted for *Political Lying*; I shall therefore desire to refine upon it, by adding some Circumstances of its Birth and Parents. A *Political Lye* is sometimes born out of a discarded Statesman's Head, and thence delivered to be nursed and dandled by the *Rabble*. Sometimes it is produced a Monster, and *licked* into Shape; at other Times it comes into the World compleatly formed, and is spoiled in the *licking*. It is often born an Infant in the regular

lar Way, and requires Time to mature it : And often it sees the Light in its full Growth, but dwindles away by Degrees. Sometimes it is of noble Birth ; and sometimes the Spawn of a *Stock-jobber*. *Here*, it screams aloud at opening the Womb ; and *there*, it is delivered with a *Whisper*. I know a *Lye* that now disturbs half the Kingdom with its Noise, which although too proud and great at present to own its Parents, I can remember in its *Whisperhood*. To conclude the Nativity of this Monster ; when it comes into the World without a *Sting*, it is still-born ; and whenever it loses its *Sting*, it dies.

No Wonder, if an Infant so miraculous in its Birth, should be destined for great Adventures : And accordingly we see it hath been the *Guardian Spirit* of a *prevailing Party* for almost twenty Years. It can conquer Kingdoms without Fighting, and sometimes with the Loss of a Battle : It gives and resumes Employments ; can sink a Mountain to a Mole-hill, and raise a Mole-hill to a Mountain ; hath presided for many Years at Committees of Elections ; can wash a *Black-a-moor* white ; make a Saint of an Atheist, and a Patriot of a Profligate ; can furnish *Foreign Ministers* with Intelligence ; and raise or let fall the Credit of the Nation. This Goddess flies with a huge *Looking-glass* in her Hands to dazzle the Crowd, and make them see, according as she turns it, their Ruin in their Interest, and their Interest in their Ruin. In this Glass you will behold your best Friends clad in Coats powdered with *Flower-de-Luce's* and *Triple Crowns* ; their Girdles hung round with *Chains*, and *Beads*, and *wooden Shoes* : And your worst Enemies adorned with the Ensigns of *Liberty*, *Property*, *Indulgence*, *Moderation*, and a *Cornucopia* in their Hands.

Hands. Her large Wings, like those of a flying Fish, are of no Use but while they are moist ; she therefore dips them in *Mud*, and soaring aloft scatters it in the Eyes of the Multitude, flying with great Swiftnes ; but at every Turn is forced to stoop in *dirty Ways* for new Supplies.

I HAVE been sometimes thinking, if a Man had the Art of the *Second Sight* for seeing *Lyes*, as they have in *Scotland* for seeing Spirits ; how admirably he might entertain himself in this Town ; to observe the different Shapes, Sizes, and Colours, of those Swarms of *Lyes* which buzz about the Heads of *some People*, like Flies about a Horse's Ears in Summer : Or those Legions hovering every Afternoon in *Exchange-Alley*, enough to darken the Air ; or over a Club of discontented Grandees, and thence sent down in Cargoes to be scattered at Elections.

THERE is one essential Point wherein a *Political Lyar* differs from others of the Faculty ; That he ought to have but a short Memory, which is necessary according to the various Occasions he meets with every Hour, of differing from himself, and swearing to both Sides of a Contradiction, as he finds the Persons disposed, with whom he hath to deal. In describing the Virtues and Vices of Mankind, it is convenient, upon every Article, to have some eminent Person in our Eye, from whence we copy our Description. I have strictly observed this Rule ; and my Imagination this Minute represents before me a certain * *Great Man* famous for this Talent, to the constant Practice of which he owes his twenty Years Reputation of the most skilful Head in *England*, for the Management of nice Affairs. The Superiority of his Genius consists in nothing else but an inexhaustible Fund of *Political Lyes*, which he plentifully distributes every Minute

* *The late Earl of Wharton.*

he speaks, and by an unparalleled Generosity forgets, and consequently contradicts the next half Hour. He never yet considered whether any Proposition were True or False, but whether it were convenient for the present Minute or Company to affirm or deny it ; so that if you think to refine upon him, by interpreting every Thing he says, as we do Dreams by the Contrary, you are still to seek, and will find your self equally deceived, whether you believe or no : The only Remedy is to suppose that you have heard some inarticulate Sounds, without any Meaning at all. And besides, that will take off the Horror you might be apt to conceive at the Oaths wherewith he perpetually Tags both Ends of every *Proposition* : Although at the same Time, I think, he cannot with any Justice be taxed for Perjury, when he invokes *God* and *Christ* ; because he hath often fairly given publick Notice to the World, that he believes in neither.

SOME People may think that such an Accomplishment as this, can be of no great Use to the Owner or his Party, after it hath been often practised, and is become notorious ; but they are widely mistaken: Few *Lyes* carry the Inventor's Mark ; and the most prostitute Enemy to Truth may spread a Thousand without being known for the Author. Besides, as the vilest Writer hath his Readers, so the greatest *Lyar* hath his Believers ; and it often happens, that if a *Lye* be believed only for an Hour, it hath done its Work, and there is no farther Occasion for it. *Falshood flies*, and *Truth* comes *limping* after it ; so that when Men come to be undeceived, it is too late, the Jest is over, and the Tale has had its Effect: Like a Man who has thought of a good Repartee, when the Discourse is changed, or the Company parted : Or, like a Physician

sician who hath found out an infallible Medicine after the Patient is dead.

CONSIDERING that natural Disposition in many Men to *Lye*, and in Multitudes to *Believe*; I have been perplexed what to do with that Maxim, so frequent in every Bodies Mouth, That *Truth will at last prevail*. Here, has this Island of ours, for the greatest Part of twenty Years lain under the Influence of such Counsels and Persons, whose Principle and Interest it was to corrupt our Manners, blind our Understandings, drain our Wealth, and in Time destroy our Constitution both in Church and State; and we at last were brought to the very Brink of Ruin; yet by the Means of perpetual Representations, have never been able to distinguish between our Enemies and Friends. We have seen a great Part of the Nation's Money got into the Hands of those, who by their Birth, Education and Merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our Liveries. While others, who by their Credit, Quality and Fortune, were only able to give Reputation and Success to the Revolution, were not only laid aside, as dangerous and useless; but loaden with the Scandal of *Jacobites*, Men of *Arbitrary Principles*, and *Pensioners to France*; while Truth, who is said to *lie in a Well*, seemed now to be buried there under a heap of Stones. But I remember it was a usual Complaint among the *Whigs*, that the Bulk of Landed-men was not in their Interests, which some of the Wisest looked on as an ill Omen; and we saw it was with the utmost Difficulty that they could preserve a Majority, while the Court and Ministry were on their Side; till they had learned those admirable Expedients for deciding Elections, and influencing distant Boroughs, by *powerful Motives* from the City. But all this was

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mere Force and Constraint, however upheld by most dextrous Artifice and Management ; until the People began to apprehend their *Properties*, their *Religion*, and the *Monarchy* itself in Danger ; then we saw them greedily laying hold on the first Occasion to interpose. But of this mighty Change in the Dispositions of the People, I shall discourse more at large in some following Paper ; wherein I shall endeavour to undeceive or discover those deluded or deluding Persons, who hope or pretend, it is only a short Madness in the Vulgar, from which they may soon recover. Whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its Causes, its Symptoms, and its Consequences ; and prove a great Example to illustrate the Maxim I lately mentioned, That *Truth* (however sometimes late) *will at least prevail*.

No. 15. Thursday, November 16, 1710.

—*Medioq; ut limite curras,
Icare, ait, moneo : ne si demissior ibis,
Unda gravet pennas, si celsior, ignis adurat.*

IT must be avowed, that for some Years past, there have been few Things more wanted in *England*, than such a Paper as this ought to be ; and such as I will endeavour to make it, as long as it shall be found of any Use, without entring into the Violences of either Party. Considering the many grievous Misrepresentations of Persons and Things, it is highly requisite, at this Juncture, that the People throughout the Kingdom, should, if possible, be set right in their Opinions by some impartial

tial Hand ; which hath never been yet attempted : Those who have hitherto undertaken it, being upon every Account the least qualified of all Human-kind for such a Work.

We live here under a limited Monarchy, and under the Doctrine and Discipline of an excellent Church : We are unhappily divided into two Parties, both which pretend a mighty Zeal for our Religion and Government, only they disagree about the Means. The Evils we must fence against are, on one Side Fanaticism and Infidelity in Religion ; and Anarchy, under the Name of a Commonwealth, in Government : On the other Side, Popery, Slavery, and the Pretender from *France*. Now to inform and direct us in our Sentiments, upon these weighty Points ; here are on one Side two stupid illiterate Scribblers, both of them *Fanatics* by Profession ; I mean the *Review* and *Observator*. On the other Side we have an open *Nonjuror*, whose Character and Person, as well as good Learning and Sense, discovered upon other Subjects, do indeed deserve Respect and Esteem ; but his *Rehearsal*, and the rest of his Political Papers, are yet more pernicious than those of the former two. If the Generality of the People know not how to *Talk* or *Think*, until they have read their *Lesson* in the Papers of the Week ; what a Misfortune is it that their Duty should be conveyed to them through such *Vehicles* as those ? For let some Gentlemen think what they please ; I cannot but suspect, that the two *Worships* I first mentioned, have in a Degree done Mischief among us ; the mock authoritative Manner of the one, and the insipid Mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable Ears, being of a Level with great Numbers among the lowest Part of Mankind. Neither was

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the Author of the *Rehearsal*, while he continued that Paper, less infectious to many Persons of better Figure, who perhaps were as well qualified, and much less prejudiced, to judge for themselves.

IT was this Reason, that moved me to take the Matter out of those *rough*, as well as those *dirty* Hands; to let the remote and uninstructed Part of the Nation see, that they have been misled on both Sides, by mad, ridiculous Extreams, at a wide Distance on each Side from the Truth; while the right Path is so broad and plain, as to be easily kept, if they were once put into it.

FURTHER: I had lately entered on a Resolution to take very little Notice of other Papers, unless it were such, where the Malice and Falshood had so great a Mixture of Wit and Spirit, as would make them dangerous; which in the present Circle of Scribblers, from Twelve Pence to a Half-penny, I could easily foresee would not very frequently occur. But here again, I am forced to dispense with my Resolution, although it be only to tell my Reader, what Measures I am like to take on such Occasions for the Future. I was told that the Paper called the *Observator*, was twice filled last Week with Remarks upon a late *Examiner*. These I read with the first Opportunity, and to speak in the News-Writers Phrase, they gave me *Occasion for many Speculations*. I observed with singular Pleasure, the Nature of those *Things*, which the Owners of them, usually call *Answers*; and with what Dexterity this matchless Author had fallen into the whole Art and Cant of them. To transcribe here and there three or four detatched Lines of least Weight in a Discourse, and by a foolish Comment mistake every Syllable of the Meaning, is what I have known many of a superior Class, to this formidable

midable Adversary, entitle an *Answer*. This is what he hath exactly done in about twice as many Words as my whole Discourse; which is so mighty an Advantage over me, that I shall by no Means engage in so unequal a Combat; but as far as I can judge of my own Temper, entirely dismiss him for the Future; heartily wishing he had a Match exactly of his own Size to meddle with, who should only have the odds of Truth and Honesty; which as I take it, would be an effectual Way to silence him for ever. Upon this Occasion, I cannot forbear a short Story of a *Fanatick Farmer*, who lived in my Neighbourhood, and was so great a Disputant in Religion, that the Servants in all the Families thereabouts, reported, how he had confuted the Bishop and all his Clergy. I had then a Footman who was fond of reading the Bible; and I borrowed a Comment for him, which he studied so close, that in a Month or two I thought him a Match for the *Farmer*. They disputed at several Houses, with a Ring of Servants and other People always about them; where *Ned* explained his Texts so full and clear, to the Capacity of his Audience, and shewed the Insignificancy of his Adversary's Cant, to the meanest Understanding; that he got the whole Country of his Side, and the *Farmer* was cured of his Itch of Disputation for ever after.

THE worst of it is, That this Sort of outrageous Party-Writers I have above spoke of, are like a couple of Make-bates, who inflame small Quarrels by a thousand Stories, and by keeping Friends at Distance, hinder them from coming to a good Understanding, as they certainly would, if they were suffered to meet and debate between themselves. For, let any one examine a reasonable honest Man of either Side, upon those Opinions in Religion and *Government*,

Government, which both Parties daily buffet each other about ; he shall hardly find one material Point in difference between them. I would be glad to ask a Question about *two Great Men* of the late Ministry, how they came to be *Whigs*? And by what Figure of Speech, half a Dozen others, lately put into great Employments, can be called *Tories*? I doubt, whoever would suit the Definition to the Persons, must make it directly contrary to what we understood it at the Time of the Revolution.

IN order to remove these Misapprehensions among us, I believe it will be necessary upon Occasion, to detect the Malice and Falshood of some popular Maxims, which those Idiots scatter from the Press twice a Week, and draw an hundred absurd Consequences from them.

FOR Example : I have heard it often objected as a great Piece of Insolence in the Clergy and others, to say or hint that the *Church was in Danger*, when it was voted otherwise in Parliament some Years ago : And the Queen her self in her last Speech, did openly condemn all such Insinuations. Notwithstanding which, I did then, and do still believe, the Church hath, since that Vote, been in very imminent Danger ; and I think I might then have said so, without the least Offence to her Majesty, or either of the two Houses. The Queen's Words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the Church being in Danger from *her Administration* ; and whoever says or thinks That, deserves, in my Opinion, to be hanged for a Traitor. But, that the Church and State may be both in Danger under the best Princes that ever reigned, and without the least Guilt of theirs, is such a Truth, as a Man must be a great Stranger to History or common Sense, to doubt. The wisest

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Prince on Earth may be forced, by the Necessity of his Affairs, and the present Power of an unruly Faction, or deceived by the Craft of ill-designing Men: One or two Ministers, most in his Confidence, may *at first* have good Intentions, but grow corrupted by Time, by Avarice, by Love, by Ambition, and have fairer Terms offered them, to gratify their Passions or Interests, from *one Set of Men* than another, until they are too far involved for a Retreat; and so be forced to take *seven Spirits more wicked than themselves*. This is a very possible Case; and will not *the last State of such Men be worse than the first?* That is to say, will not the Publick, which was safe at first, grow in Danger by such Proceedings as these? And shall a faithful Subject, who foresees and trembles at the Consequences, be called *Disaffected*, because he delivers his Opinion, although the Prince declares, as he justly may, that the Danger is not owing to his Administration? Or, shall the Prince himself be blamed, when in such a Juncture he puts his Affairs into other Hands, *with the universal Applause of his People?* As to the Vote against those who should affirm the Church was in Danger, I think it likewise referred to Danger from or under the Queen's Administration, (for I neither have it by me, nor can suddenly have Recourse to it;) but if it were otherwise, I know not how it can refer to any Dangers but what were past, or at that Time present; or how it could affect the Future, unless the Senators were all *inspired*, or at least that Majority which voted it. Neither do I see any Crime further than ill Manners, to differ in Opinion from a Majority of either or both Houses; and that ill Manners, I must confess I have been often guilty.

of for some Years past, although I hope I never shall again.

ANOTHER Topick of great Use to these weekly Inflamers, is the young *Pretender* in *France*, to whom their whole Party is in a high Measure indebted for all their Greatness ; and whenever it lies in their Power, they may perhaps return their Acknowledgments, as out of their Zeal for frequent *Revolutions*, they were ready to do to his supposed Father : Which is a Piece of *Secret History*, that I hope will one Day see the Light ; and I am sure it shall, if ever I am Master of it, without regarding whose *Ears may tingle*. But at present, the Word *Pretender* is a Term of Art in *their* Possession : A Secretary of State cannot *desire leave to resign*, but the *Pretender* is at Bottom : The Queen cannot dissolve a Parliament, but it is a Plot to de-throne herself, and bring in the *Pretender*. Half a Score Stock-Jobbers are playing the Knave in *Exchange-Alley*, and there goes the *Pretender* with a *Sponge*. One would be apt to think they bawl out the *Pretender* so often, to take off the Terror ; or tell so many Lies about him, to slacken our Caution, that when he is really coming, *by their Connivance*, we may not believe them ; as the Boy served the Shepherds about the *coming of the Wolf*. Or perhaps they scare us with the *Pretender*, because they think he may be like some Diseases, that *come with a Fright*. Do they not believe, that the Queen's present Ministry love her Majesty, at least as well as *some others* loved the *Church* ? And why is it not as great a Mark of *Disaffection* now to say the *Queen is in Danger*, as it was some Months ago to affirm the same of the *Church* ? Suppose it be a false Opinion, that the Queen's Right is *hereditary* and *indefeasible* ; yet how is it possible that those

those who hold and believe such a Doctrine, can be in the *Pretender's* Interest? His Title is weakened by every Argument that strengthens Hers. It is as plain as the Words of an Act of Parliament can make it, That her present Majesty is Heir to the Survivor of the late King, and Queen her Sister. Is not that an *Hereditary Right*? What need we explain it any further? I have known an *Article of Faith* expounded in much looser and more general Terms; and that, by an Author whose Opinions are very much followed by a certain Party. Suppose we go further, and examine the Word *Indefeasible*, with which some Writers of late have made themselves so merry: I confess it is hard to conceive, how any Law which the suprem Power makes, may not by the same Power be repealed: So that I shall not determine, whether the Queen's Right be *indefeasible* or no. But this I will maintain; that whoever affirms it so, is not guilty of a Crime. For in that Settlement of the Crown after the Revolution, where her present Majesty is named in Remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) these remarkable Words, *To which we bind ourselves, and our Posterity for ever.* Lawyers may explain this, or call them Words of Form, as they please: And Reasoners may argue, that such an Obligation is against the very Nature of Government: But a plain Reader, who takes the Words in their natural Meaning, may be excused, in thinking a Right so confirmed, is *indefeasible*; and if there be an Absurdity in such an Opinion, he is not to answer for it.

P. S. When this Paper was going to the Pres, the Printer brought me two more *Observators*, wholly taken up in my *Examiner* upon Lying,

which I was at the Pains to read ; and they are just such an Answer, as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to say on that Matter.

No. 16. Thursday, November 23, 1710.

*Qui sunt boni cives? qui belli, qui domi de patriâ
bene merentes, nisi qui patriæ beneficia memi-
nerunt?*

I WILL employ this present Paper upon a Subject which of late hath very much affected me, which I have considered with a good deal of Application, and made several Enquiries about, among those Persons who I thought were best able to inform me ; and if I deliver my Sentiments with some Freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that Tenderness which so nice a Point requires.

I SAID in a former Paper (Numb. 13.) that one specious Objection to the late Removals at Court, was the Fear of giving Uneasiness to a General, who hath been long successful abroad : And accordingly, the common Clamour of Tongues and Pens for some Months past, hath run against the Baseness, the Inconstancy and Ingratitude of the whole Kingdom to the Duke of Marlborough, in return of the most eminent Services that ever were performed by a Subject to his Country ; not to be equalled in History. And then to be sure some bitter Stroak of Detraction against *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, who never did us the least Injury.

Besides,

Besides, the People who read *Plutarch*, come upon us with Parallels drawn from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their most deserving Generals: While the profounder Politicians, have seen Pamphlets, where *Tacitus* and *Machiavel* have been quoted to shew the Danger of too resplendent a Merit. If a Stranger should hear these furious Outcries of Ingratitude against our General, without knowing the Particulars, he would be apt to enquire where was his Tomb, or whether he were allowed Christian Burial? Not doubting but we had put him to some ignominious Death. Or, hath he been tried for his Life, and very narrowly escaped? Hath he been accused of high Crimes and Misdemeanours? Has the Prince seized on his Estate, and left him to starve? Hath he been hooted at as he passed the Streets, by an ungrateful Rabble? Have neither Honours, Offices, nor Grants, been conferred on him or his Family? Have not he and they been barbarously stript of them all? Have not he and his Forces been ill payed abroad? And doth not the Prince, by a scanty, limited Commission, hinder him from pursuing his own Methods in the Conduct of the War? Hath he no Power at all of disposing Commissions as he pleaseth? Is he not severely used by the Ministry or Parliament, who yearly call him to a strict Account? Has the Senate ever thanked him for good Success; and have they not always publickly censured him for the least Miscarriage? Will the Accusers of the Nation join Issue upon any of these Particulars; or, tell us in what Point our damnable Sin of Ingratitude lies? Why, it is plain and clear; for while he is commanding abroad, the Queen dissolveth her Parliament, and changeth her Ministry at home: In which

which *universal Calamity*, no less than *two Persons* allied by Marriage to the General, have lost their Places. Whence came this wonderful Sympathy between the Civil and Military Powers? Will the Troops in *Flanders* refuse to fight, unless they can have *their own Lord Keeper*; *their own Lord President* of the Council; *their own Chief Governor* of *Ireland*; and *their own Parliament*? In a Kingdom where the People are free, how came they to be so fond of having their Counsels under the Influence of their Army, or those that lead it? Who in all well-instituted States, had no Commerce with the Civil Power; further than to receive their Orders, and obey them without Reserve.

WHEN a General is not so Popular, either in his Army, or at home, as one might expect from a long Course of Success; it might perhaps be ascribed to his *Wisdom*, or perhaps to his Complection. The Possession of some one *Quality*, or a Defect in *some other*, will extremely damp the Peoples Favour, as well as the Love of the Soldiers. Besides, this is not an Age to produce Favourites of the People, while we live under a Queen who engrosseth all our Love, and all our Veneration; and where, the only Way for a great General or Minister, to acquire any Degree of subordinate Affection from the Publick, must be by all Marks of the most *entire Submission and Respect* to her sacred Person and Commands; otherwise, no Pretence of great Services, either in the Field or the Cabinet, will be able to skreen them from *universal Hatred*.

BUT the late Ministry was closely joined to the General, by Friendship, Interest, Alliance, Inclination and Opinion; which cannot be affirmed of the present; and the Ingratitude of the Nation lieth in the People's joining as *one Man*, to wish, that such

Such a Ministry should be changed. Is it not at the same Time notorious to the whole Kingdom, that nothing but a tender Regard to the General, was able to preserve that Ministry so long, until neither God nor Man could suffer their Continuance? Yet in the highest Ferment of Things, we heard few or no Reflections upon this great Commander; but all seemed Unanimous in wishing he might still be at the Head of the Confederate Forces; only at the same Time, in Case he were resolved to ~~resign~~, they chose rather to turn their Thoughts somewhere else, than throw up all in Despair. And this I cannot but add, in Defence of the People, with regard to the Person we are speaking of; that in the high Station he hath been for many Years past, his *real Defects* (as nothing Human is without them) have in a detracting Age been very sparingly mentioned, either in Libels or Conversation; and all his *Successes* very freely and universally applauded.

THERE is an active and a passive Ingratitude: Applying both to this Occasion; We may say, the first is, when a Prince or People returns good Services with Cruelty or ill Usage: The other is, when good Services are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already spoke of the former; let us therefore in the second Place, examine how the Services of our General have been rewarded; and whether upon that Article, either Prince or People have been guilty of Ingratitude?

THOSE are the most valuable Rewards which are given to us from the certain Knowledge of the Donor, that they *fit our Temper best*: I shall therefore say nothing of the Title of *Duke*, or the *Garter*, which the Queen bestowed the General in the beginning of her Reign: But I shall come to

more

more substantial Instances, and mention nothing which hath not been given in the Face of the World. The Lands of *Woodstock*, may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000*l.* On the building of *Blenheim Castle* 200,000*l.* have been already expended, although it be not yet near finished. The Grant of 5000*l. per Annum*, on the Post-Office, is richly worth 100,000*l.* His Principality in *Germany* may be computed at 30,000*l.* Pictures, Jewels, and other Gifts from Foreign Princes, 60,000*l.* The Grant at the *Pall Mall*, the Rangership, &c. for want of more certain Knowledge, may be called 10,000*l.* His own, and his Dutches's Employments at five Years Value, reckoning only the known and avowed Salaries, are very low rated at 100,000*l.* Here is a good deal above half a Million of Money; and I dare say, those who are loudest with the Clamour of Ingratitude, will readily own, that all this is but a Trifle, in Comparison of what is *untold*.

THE Reason of my stating this Account is only to convince the World, that we are not quite so ungrateful either as the *Greeks* or the *Romans*. And in order to adjust this Matter with all Fairnes, I shall confine myself to the latter, who were much the more generous of the two. A Victorious General of *Rome* in the Height of that Empire, having *entirely subdued his Enemies*, was rewarded with the larger Triumph; and perhaps a Statue in the *Forum*; a Bull for a Sacrifice; an embroidered Garment to appear in; a Crown of Laurel; a Monumental Trophy with Inscriptions; sometimes five hundred or a thousand Copper Coins were struck on Occasion of the Victory; which, doing Honour to the General, we will place to his Account; And lastly, sometimes, although not very

very frequently, a Triumphal Arch. These are all the Rewards that I can call to Mind, which a victorious General received after his Return from the most glorious Expedition; conquered some great Kingdom; brought the King himself, his Family and Nobles to adorn the Triumph in Chains; and made the Kingdom either a *Roman* Province, or at best, a poor depending State, in humble Alliance to that Empire. Now, of all these Rewards, I find but two which were of real Profit to the General: The *Laurel Crown*, made and sent him at the Charge of the Publick; and the *embroidered Garment*; but I cannot find whether this last were paid for by the Senate or the General: However, we will take the more favourable Opinion; and in all the rest, admit the whole Ex- pence, as if it were ready Money in the General's Pocket. Now according to these Computations on both Sides, we will draw up two fair Accounts; the one of *Roman* Gratitude, and the other of *British* Ingratitude; and set them together in Ballance.

A Bill

A Bill of ROMAN Gratitude.

<i>Imprimis.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
For Frankincense and Earthen Pots to burn it in.	4 10 0
A Bull for Sacrifice.	8 0 0
An embroidered Garment.	50 0 0
A Crown of Laurel.	0 0 2
A Statue.	100 0 0
A Trophy.	80 0 0
A thousand Copper Medals, Value half-pence a Piece.	2 1 8
A Triumphal Arch.	500 0 0
A Triumphal Carr, valued as a modern Coach.	100 0 0
Casual Charges at the Triumph.	150 0 0
<hr/>	
	994 11 10

A Bill of BRITISH Ingratitude.

<i>Imprimis.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
Woodstock.	40000 0 0
Blenheim.	200000 0 0
Post-Office Grant.	100000 0 0
Mildenheim	30000 0 0
Pictures, Jewels, &c.	60000 0 0
Pall Mall Grant, &c.	10000 0 0
Employments.	100000 0 0
<hr/>	
	540000 0 0

THIS

THIS is an Account of the visible Profits on both Sides; and if the *Roman* General had any *private Perquisites*, they may be easily discounted, and by more probable Computations; and differ yet more upon the Ballance; if we consider, that all the Gold and Silver for *Safeguards* and *Contributions*; and all *valuable Prizes* taken in the War, were openly expos'd in the Triumph; and then lodged in the *Capitol* for the publick Service.

So that upon the Whole, we are not yet quite so bad at *worst*, as the *Romans* were at *best*. And I doubt, those who raise this hideous Cry of Ingratitude, may be mightily mistaken in the Consequences they propose from such Complaints. I remember a Saying of *Seneca*, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus*: We find many ungrateful Persons in the World, but we *make* more, by setting too high a Rate upon our Pretensions, and undervaluing the Rewards we receive. When unreasonable Bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the Middle. Where there have been long Accounts between two Persons, I have known one of them perpetually making large Demands, and pressing for Payments; who when the Accounts were cast up on both Sides, was found to be Debtor for some Hundreds. I am thinking, if a Proclamation were issued out for every Man to send in his *Bill of Merits*, and the lowest Price he set them at, what a pretty Sum it would amount to, and how many such Islands as this must be sold to pay them. I form my Judgment from the Practice of those who sometimes happen to *pay themselves*; and I dare affirm, would not be so unjust to take a Farthing more than they think is due to their Deserts. I will Instance only in one Article. A * Lady of my

* Supposed to be her late Majesty Queen Anne.

Acquaintance,

Acquaintance, appropriated twenty six Pounds a Year out of her own Allowance, for certain Uses, which her* Woman received, and was to pay to the Lady or her Order, as it was called for. But after eight Years, it appeared upon the strictest Calculation, that the Woman had paid but four Pounds a Year, and sunk two and twenty for her own Pocket: It is but supposing instead of twenty six Pounds, twenty six thousand; and by that you may judge what the Pretensions of *Modern Merit* are, where it happens to be its own Paymaster.

No. 17. Thursday, November 30, 1710.

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset; eas omnes sese hoc uno Praetore per triennium pertulisse, aiebant.

WHEN I first undertook this Paper, I was resolved to concern my self only with *Things*, and not with *Persons*. Whether I have kept or broken this Resolution, I cannot recollect; and I will not be at the Pains to examine, but leave the Matter to those little Antagonists, who may want a Topick for Criticism. Thus much I have discovered; that it is in Writing, as in Building; where, after all our Schemes and Calculations, we are mightily deceived in our Accounts; and often forced to make Use of any Materials we can find, that the Work may be kept a going.

* *The D—fs of M—gh.*

Besides,

Besides, to speak my Opinion, the *Things* I have Occasion to mention, are so closely linked to *Persons*, that nothing but *Time* (the Father of *Oblivion*) can separate them. Let me put a parallel Case : Suppose I should complain, that last Week my Coach was within an Inch of overturning, in a smooth, even Way, and drawn by very gentle Horses ; to be sure, all my Friends would immediately lay the Fault upon *John*, because they knew, he then *Presided* in my Coach-Box. Again, Suppose I should discover some Uneasiness to find my self, I knew not how, over Head and Ears in Debt, although I were sure my Tenants paid their Rents very well, and that I never spent all my *Income* ; they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr. * *Oldfox* my *Receiver*, and take another. If, as a Justice of Peace, I should tell a Friend that my *Warrants* and *Mittimus's* were never drawn up as I would have them ; that I had the Misfortune to send an honest Man to Goal, and dismiss a Knave ; he would bid me no longer trust † *Charles* and *Harry*, my two *Clerks*, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, assuming and ill-inclined Fellows. If I should add, That my Tenants made me very uneasy with their Squabbles and Broils among themselves ; he would counsel me to cashier § *Will Bigamy*, the *Seneschal* of my Mannor. And lastly, if my Neighbour and I happened to have a Misunderstanding about the *Delivery of a Message*, what could I do less than strip and discard the *blundering* or *malicious* Rascal who carried it ?

* *L. G*—n.

† *E. S*—d, and *Harry*—*Secretaries of State*.

§ *L. C*—r *Cooper*.

IT is the same Thing in the Conduct of publick Affairs, where they have been managed with Rashness or Wilfulness, Corruption, Ignorance or Injustice; barely to relate the Facts, at least, while they are fresh in Memory, will as much reflect upon the *Persons* concerned, as if we had told their Names at length.

I HAVE therefore since thought of another Expedient, frequently practised with great Safety and Success by satyrical Writers: Which is, That of looking into History for some Character bearing a Resemblance to the Person we would describe; and with the absolute Power of altering, adding or suppressing what Circumstances we please, I conceived we must have very bad Luck, or very little Skill to fail. However, some Days ago in a Coffee-House, looking into one of the politick weekly Papers; I found the Writer had fallen into this Scheme; and I happened to light on that Part where he was describing a Person, who from small Beginnings grew (as I remember) to be Constable of *France*, and had a very *haughty, imperious Wife*. I took the Author for a Friend to our *Faction*, (for so with great Propriety of Speech they call the Queen and Ministry, almost the whole Clergy, and nine Parts in ten of the Kingdom) and I said to a Gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what Persons the Author meant, yet there were several Particulars in the *Husband's* Character, which I could not reconcile. For that of the *Lady* was just and adequate enough; but it seems I mistook the whole Matter, and applied all I had read to a couple of Persons, who were not at that Time in the Writer's Thoughts.

Now to avoid such a Misfortune as this, I have been for some Time consulting *Livy* and *Tacitus*, to find

find out the Character of a *Princeps Senatus*, a *Prætor Urbanus*, a *Quæstor Ærarius*, a *Cæsari ab Epistolis*, and a *Proconsul*: But among the worst of them, I cannot discover One from whence to draw a Parallel, without doing Injury to a *Roman Memory*: So that I am compelled to have Recourse to *Tully*. But this Author relating Facts only as an Orator, I thought it would be best to observe his Method, and make an Extract from six Harangues of his against *Verres*, only still preserving the Form of an Oration. I remember a younger Brother of mine, who deceased about two Months ago, presented the World with a Speech of *Alcibiades*, against an *Athenian Brewer*: Now, I am told for certain, that in those Days there was no Ale in *Athens*; and therefore that Speech, or at least, a great Part of it, must needs be spurious. The Difference between me and my Brother is this; he makes *Alcibiades* say a great deal more than he really did; and I make *Cicero* say a great deal less. This * *Verres*, had been the *Roman Governor* of *Sicily* for three Years; and on return from his Government, the *Sicilians* entreated *Cicero* to impeach him in the Senate; which, he accordingly did, in several Orations: From whence I have faithfully translated and abstracted that which follows.

My Lords,

‘ **A** PERNICIOUS Opinion hath for some Time prevailed, not only at *Rome*, but among our neighbouring Nations; that a Man who hath Money enough, although he be ever so guilty, cannot be condemned in this Place.

* *Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*

But,

‘ But, however industriously this Opinion be spread,
‘ to cast an Odium on the Senate ; we have brought
‘ before your Lordships *Caius Verres*, a Person,
‘ for his Life and Actions, already condemned by
‘ all Men ; but as he hopes, and gives out, by the
‘ Influence of his Wealth, to be here absolved.
‘ In condemning this Man, you have an Opportu-
‘ nity of belying that general Scandal ; of redeem-
‘ ing the *Credit lost by former Judgments* ; and re-
‘ covering the Love of the *Roman People*, as well as
‘ of our Neighbours. I have brought here a Man
‘ before you, my Lords, who is a Robber of the
‘ publick Treasure ; an Overturner of Law and
‘ Justice ; and the Disgrace, as well as Destruction
‘ of the *Sicilian Province* : Of whom, if you shall
‘ determine with Equity and due Severity, your
‘ Authority will remain entire, and upon such an
‘ Establishment as it ought to be : But if his great
‘ Riches will be able to force their Way through
‘ that Religious Reverence and Truth, which be-
‘ come so awful an Assembly, I shall, however,
‘ obtain thus much, That the Defect will be laid
‘ where it ought ; and that it shall not be objected ;
‘ the Criminal was not produced, or that there
‘ wanted an Orator to accuse him. This Man,
‘ my Lords, hath publickly said, That those
‘ ought to be afraid of Accusations who have only
‘ robbed enough for their own Support and Main-
‘ tenance ; but that he hath plundered sufficient to
‘ bribe Numbers ; and that nothing is so High or
‘ Holy which Money cannot corrupt. Take that
‘ Support from him, and he can have no other
‘ left. For, what Eloquence will be able to defend
‘ a Man, whose Life hath been tainted with so
‘ many, scandalous Vices, and who hath been so
‘ long condemned by the universal Opinion of the
‘ World ?

‘ World ? To pass over the foul Stains and Ignominy of his Youth ; his corrupt Management in all Employments he hath born ; his Treachery and Irreligion ; his Injustice and Oppression : He hath left of late such Monuments of his Villainies in *Sicily* ; made such Havock and Confusion there, during his Government, that the Province cannot by any Means be restored to its former State, and hardly recover it self at all under many Years, and by a long Succession of good Governors. While this Man governed in that Island, the *Sicilians* had neither the Benefit of our Laws, nor their own, nor even of common Right. In *Sicily*, no Man now possesseth more than what the Governor’s Lust and Avarice have overlooked ; or what he was forced to neglect out of mere Weariness and Satiety of Oppression. Every Thing where he presided, was determined by his arbitrary Will ; and the best Subjects he treated as Enemies. To recount his abominable Debaucgeries, would offend any modest Ear, since so many could not preserve their Daughters and Wives from his Lust. I believe, there is no Man who ever heard his Name, that cannot relate his Enormities. We bring before you in Judgment, my Lords, a publick Robber, an Adulterer, * a **D E F I L E R** of **A L T A R S**, an Enemy of Religion, and of all that is Sacred ; in *Sicily* he sold all Employments of Judicature, Magistracy, and Trust, Places in the Council, and the *Priesthood* it self, to the highest Bidder ; and hath plundered that Island of forty Millions of Sesterces. And here I cannot but observe to

* This Story of Lord *Wharton*, is true ; who, with some other Wretches went into a Pulpit, and defiled it in the most filthy Manner.

‘ your Lordships, in what Manner *Verres* passed
‘ the Day : The Morning was spent in taking
‘ Bribes, and selling Employments ; the rest of it
‘ in Drunkenness and Lust. His Discourse at
‘ Table was scandalously unbecoming the Dignity
‘ of his Station ; Noise, Brutality, and Obscene-
‘ ness. One Particular I cannot omit, that in the
‘ high Character of Governor of *Sicily*, upon a
‘ solemn Day, a Day set a-part for publick Prayer
‘ for the Safety of the Common-wealth ; he stole
‘ at Evening, in a Chair, to a married Woman of
‘ infamous Character, against all Decency and
‘ Prudence, as well as against all Laws both Hu-
‘ man and Divine. Didst thou think, O *Verres*,
‘ the Government of *Sicily* was given thee with so
‘ large a Commission, only by the Power of That
‘ to break all the Barrs of Law, Modesty, and Duty,
‘ to suppose all Mens Fortunes thine, and leave no
‘ House free from thy Rapine, or Lust, &c.

THIS Extract to deal ingenuously, hath cost
me more Pains than I think it is worth, having on-
ly served to convince me, that modern Corruptions
are not to be paralleled by ancient Examples, with-
out having Recourse to Poetry or Fable. For In-
stance, I never read in Story of a Law enacted to
take away the Force of all Laws whatsoever ; by
which a Man may safely commit upon the last of
June, what he would infallibly be hanged for, if
he committed on the first of *July* ; by which
the greatest Criminals may escape, provided they
continue long enough in Power to antiquate
their Crimes ; and by stifling them a while, can
deceive the Legislature into an *Amnesty*, of which
the Enactors do not at that Time foresee the Conse-
quence. A cautious Merchant will be apt to sus-
pect,

pect, when he finds a Man who has the Repute of a cunning Dealer, and with whom he hath old Accounts, urging for a general Release. When I reflect on this Proceeding, I am not surprised, that those who contrived a Parliamentary *Sponge* for their *Crimes*, are now afraid of a new Revolution *Sponge* for their *Money*: And if it were possible to contrive a *Sponge* that could only affect those who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed.

No. 18. *Thursday, December 7, 1710.*

*Quippe ubi fas versum atq; nefas: tot bella per orbem:
Tam multi Scelerum facies* — — — — —

I AM often violently tempted to let the World freely know who the Author of this Paper is; to tell them my Name and Titles at Length; which would prevent abundance of inconsistent Criticisms I daily hear upon it. Those who are Enemies to the Notions and Opinions I would advance, are sometimes apt to quarrel with the *Examiner* as defective in Point of Wit, and sometimes of Truth. At other Times they are so generous and candid, to allow, it is written by a Club; and that very great *Hands* have *Fingers* in it. As for those who only appear its Adversaries in Print, they give me but very little Pain: The Paper I hold lies at my Mercy, and I can govern it as I please; therefore, when I begin to find the Wit too bright, the Learning too deep, and the Satyr too keen for me to deal with, (a very frequent Case no doubt, where a Man is constantly attacked by such shrewd

Adversaries) I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aside, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the same Power over People's Tongues, and not be forced to hear my own Work railed at and commended fifty Times a Day ; affecting all the while a Countenance wholly unconcerned ; and joining out of Policy or good Manners with the Judgment of both Parties : This, I confess, is too great a Hardship for so bashful and unexperienced a Writer.

BUT, alas, I lye under another Discouragement of much more Weight : I was very unfortunate in the Choice of my Party when I set up to be a Writer : Where is the Merit, or what Opportunity to discover our Wit, our Courage, or our Learning, in drawing our Pens for the Defence of a Cause, which the QUEEN and both Houses of Parliament, and nine Parts in ten of the Kingdom, have so unanimously embraced ? I am cruelly afraid, we politick Authors must begin to lessen our Expences, and lie for the Future at the Mercy of our Printers. All hopes now are gone of writing our Selves into Places or Pensions. A certain starveling Author, who *worked* under the late Administration, told me with a heavy Heart, above a Month ago, That he and some others of his Brethren, had secretly offered their Service dog-cheap to the present Ministry ; but were all refused, and are now maintained by Contribution, like *Jacobites* or *Fanaticks*. I have been of late employed out of perfect Commisera-
tion, in doing them good Offices : For, whereas some were of Opinion that these hungry Zealots should not be suffered any longer in their malapert Way to snarl at the present Course of publick Proceedings ; and whereas, others proposed, that they should be limited to a certain Number, and permitted to write for their *Masters*, in the same Man-
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ner as Counsel are assigned for other Criminals ; that is, to say all they can in Defence of their Client, but not reflect upon the Court : I humbly gave my Advice, that they should be suffered to write on, as they used to do ; which I did purely out of Regard to their Persons : For, I hoped it would keep them out of Harms-way, and prevent them from falling into evil Courses, which although of little Consequence to the Publick, would certainly be *fatal to themselves*. If I have room at the Bottom of this Paper, I will transcribe a Petition to the present Ministry, sent me by one of these Authors, in Behalf of himself and fourscore of his Brethren.

FOR my own Part, notwithstanding the little Encouragement to be hoped for at this Time from the Men in Power, I shall continue my Paper untill either the World or my Self grow weary of it : The latter is easily determined ; and for the former, I shall not leave it to the Partiality of either Party, but to the infallible Judgment of my Printer. One principal End I designed by it, was to undeceive those well-meaning People, who have been drawn unaware into a wrong Sense of Things, either by the common Prejudices of Education and Company, the great personal Qualities of some Party-leaders, or the foul Misrepresentations that were constantly made of all who durst differ from them in the smallest Article. I have known such Men struck with the Thoughts of some late Changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any Reason visible to the World. In Answer to this, it is not sufficient to alledge, that a good and wise Prince may be allowed to change his Ministers without giving a Reason to his Subjects ; because it is probable, that he will not make such a Change without very important Reasons ; and a

good Subject ought to suppose, that in such a Case there are such Reasons, although he be not apprised of them ; otherwise, he must inwardly tax his Prince of Capriciousness, Inconstancy, or ill Design. Such Reasons indeed, may not be obvious to Persons prejudiced, or at great Distance, or short Thinkers ; and therefore if they be no Secrets of State, nor any ill Consequences to be apprehended from their Publication ; it is no uncommendable Work in any private Hand to lay them open for the Satisfaction of all Men. And, if what I have already said, or shall hereafter say of this Kind, be thought to reflect upon *Persons*, although none have been named, I know not how it can possibly be avoided. The Queen in her Speech mentions with great Concern, that the *Navy and other Offices are burthened with heavy Debts* ; and *desires that the like may be prevented for the Time to come*. And, if it be now possible to prevent the Continuance of an Evil that hath been so long growing upon us, and is arrived to such a Height : surely those Corruptions and Mismanagements must have been great which first introduced them, before our Taxes were eaten up by Annuities.

IF I were able to rip up, and discover in all their Colours only about eight or nine Thousand of the most scandalous Abuses, that have been committed in all Parts of publick Management for twenty Years past, by a certain Set of Men and their Instruments ; I should reckon it some Service to my Country and to Posterity. But, to say the Truth, I should be glad the Authors Names were conveyed to future Times along with their Actions. For, although the present Age may understand well enough the little Hints we give, the Parallels we draw, and the Characters we describe ; yet this will

will all be lost to the next. However, if these Papers, *reduced into a more durable Form*, should happen to live until our Grand-children be Men; I hope they may have Curiosity enough to consult Annals, and compare Dates, in order to find out what *Names* were then intrusted with the Conduct of Affairs, in the Consequence whereof, themselves will so deeply share; like a heavy Debt in a private Family, which often lies an Incumbrance upon an Estate for three Generations.

BUT leaving the Care of informing Posterity to better Pens, I shall with due Regard to Truth, Discretion, and the Safety of my Person from the Men of the *new-fangled Moderation*, continue to take all proper Opportunities of letting the misled Part of the People see how grossly they have been abused, and in what Particulars: I also shall endeavour to convince them, that the present Course we are in, is the most probable Means, with the Blessing of God, to extricate our selves out of all our Difficulties.

AMONG those who are pleased to write or talk against this Paper, I have observed a strange Manner of Reasoning, which I should be glad to hear them explain themselves upon. They make no Ceremony of exclaiming upon all Occasions against a Change of Ministry, in so critical and dangerous a Conjunction. What shall we, who heartily approve and join in those Proceedings, say in Defence of them? We own the Juncture of Affairs to be as they describe: We are pushed for an Answer, and are forced at last freely to confess, that the Corruptions and Abuses in every Branch of the Administration, were so numerous and intolerable, that all Things must have ended in Ruin, without some speedy Reformation. This I have already asserted

in a former Paper ; and the Replies I have read or heard, have been in plain Terms to affirm the direct contrary ; and not only to defend and celebrate the late Persons and Proceedings, but to threaten me with Law and Vengeance, for casting Reflections on so many great and honourable Men, whose *Birth, Virtues and Abilities* ; whose *Morals and Religion*, whose *Love of their Country and its Constitution in Church and State*, were so universally allowed ; and all this set off with odious Comparisons reflecting on the present Choice. Is not this in plain and direct Terms to tell all the World, that the Queen hath in a most dangerous Crisis turned out a whole Set of the best Ministers that ever served a Prince, without any Manner of Reason, but her Royal Pleasure ; and brought in others of a Character directly contrary ? And how so vile an Opinion as this can consist with the least Pretence to Loyalty or good Manners, let the World determine.

I CONFESS my self so little a Refiner in the Politicks, as not to be able to discover what other Motive, besides Obedience to the QUEEN, a Sense of publick Danger, and a true Love of their Country, joined with invincible Courage, could spirit up those great Men, who have now under Her Majesty's Authority undertaken the Direction of Affairs. What can they expect but the utmost Efforts of Malice from a Set of enraged domestick Adversaries, perpetually watching over their Conduct, crossing all their Designs, and using every Art to foment Divisions among them, in order to join with the Weakest upon any Rupture ? The Difficulties they must encounter are nine Times more and greater than ever ; and the Prospects of Interest, after the *Reapings* and *Gleanings* of so many Years, nine Times less. Every Misfortune at Home or Abroad, altho'

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the necessary Consequence of former Counsels, will be imputed to them ; and all the good Success given to the Merit of former Schemes. A Sharper hath held your Cards all the Evening, played Booty, and lost your Money ; and when Things are almost desperate, you employ an honest Gentleman to retrieve your Losses.

I WOULD ask whether the QUEEN's Speech doth not contain her Intentions, in every Particular relating to the Publick, that a good Subject, a Briton and a Protestant, can possibly have at Heart ? *To carry on the War in all its Parts, particularly in Spain, with the utmost Vigour, in order to procure a safe and honourable Peace for Us and our Allies ; to find some Ways of paying the Debts of the Navy ; to support and encourage the Church of England ; to preserve the British Constitution according to the Union ; to maintain the Indulgence by Law allowed to scrupulous Consciences ; and, to employ none but such as are for the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover.* It is known enough, that Speeches on these Occasions are ever digested by the Advice of those who are in the chief Confidence ; and consequently, that these are the Sentiments of her Majesty's Ministers, as well as her own ; and we see, the two Houses have unanimously agreed with her in every Article. When the least Counterpaces are made to any of these Resolutions, it will then be Time enough for our Malecontents to bawl out *Popery, Persecution, Arbitrary Power, and the Pretender.* In the mean While, it is a little hard to think, that this Island can hold but six Men of Honesty and Ability enough to serve their Prince and Country ; or that our Safety should depend upon their Credit, any more than it would upon the Breath in their Nostrils. Why should not a *Revolution* in the

Ministry

Ministry be sometimes necessary, as well as a *Revolution* in the Crown? It is to be presumed, the former is at least as lawful in it self; and perhaps the Experiment not quite so dangerous. The *Revolution* of the *Sun* about the *Earth* was formerly thought a necessary Expedient to solve Appearances, although it left many Difficulties unanswered; until Philosophers contrived a better, which is that of the *Earth's Revolution* about the *Sun*. This is found upon Experience to save much Time and Labour, to correct many irregular Motions, and is better suited to the Respect due from a *Planet* to a *fixed Star*.

No. 19. Thursday, December 14, 1710.

*Sunt quibus in Satyra videar nimis acer, & ultra
Legem tendere opus: sine nervis altera, quicquid
Composui, pars esse putat* — — —

WHEN the Printer came last Week for his Copy, he brought along with him a Bundle of those Papers, which, in the Phrase of *Whig Coffee-Houses*, have *swinged off the Examiner*; most of which I had never seen or heard of before. I remember some Time ago in one of the *Tatlers*, to have read a Letter, wherein several Reasons are assigned for the present Corruption and Degeneracy of our Taste; but I think the Writer hath omitted the principal One, which I take to be the Prejudice of Parties. Neither can I excuse either Side of this Infirmity: I have heard the arrantest Drivelers *Pro* and *Con* commended for their *Shrewdness*, even

even by Men of tolerable Judgment ; and the best Performances exploded as Nonsense and Stupidity. This indeed may partly be imputed to Policy and Prudence ; but it is chiefly owing to that Blindness, which Prejudice and Passion cast over the Understanding : I mention this, because I think it properly within my Province in *Quality of Examiner*. And having granted more than is usual for an Enemy to do, I must now take Leave to say, that so weak a *Cause*, and so ruined a *Faction*, were never provided with Pens more resembling their Condition, or less suited to their Occasions.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget* —————

THIS is the more to be wondered at, when we consider they have the full Liberty of the Press ; that they have no other Way left to recover themselves ; and that they want not Men of excellent Parts to set their Arguments in the best Light they will bear. Now, if two Men would argue on both Sides with Fairness, good Sense, and good Manners ; it would be no ill Entertainment to the Town, and perhaps be the most effectual Means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think, that Men of a great Genius are hardly brought to prostitute their Pens in a very odious *Cause* ; which, besides, is more properly undertaken by Noise and Impudence, by gross Railing and Scurrility, by Calumny and Lying, and by little trifling Cavils and Carpings in the wrong Place, which those *Whifflers* use for Arguments and Answers.

I was well enough pleased with a Story of one of these Answerers, who in a Paper last Week found many Faults with a late Calculation of mine.

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Being, it seems more deep learned than his Fellows, he was resolved to begin his Answer with a *Latin* Verse, as well as other Folks: His Business was to look out for something against an *Examiner* that would pretend to *tax* Accounts; and turning over *Virgil*, he had the Luck to find these Words, *Fugiant Examina taxos*; so down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky *Prompters* had not hindered it.

I HERE declare once for all, that if these People will not be quiet, I shall take their Bread out of their Mouths, and answer the *Examiner* my self; which I protest I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have those Answers been written or published with my Privity, as malicious People are pleased to give out; nor do I believe the common *Whiggish* Report, That the Authors are hired by the Ministry to give my Paper a Value.

BUT the Friends of this Paper have given me more Uneasiness with their Impatience, than its Enemies by their Answers. I heard my self censured last Week by some of the former, for promising to discover the Corruptions in the late Administration, but never performing any Thing. The latter, on the other Side, are thundering out their *Anathema's* against me for discovering so many. I am at a Loss how to decide between these Contraries, and therefore shall proceed after my own Way, as I have hitherto done; my Design being of more Importance than that of Writing only to gratify the Spleen of one Side, or provoke that of the Other, although it may occasionally have both Effects.

I SHALL

I SHALL therefore go on to relate some Facts, that, in my humble Opinion, were no Hindrance to the Change of the Ministry.

THE first I shall mention, was That of introducing certain new Phrases into the Court Style, which had been very seldom or never made Use of in former Times. They usually ran in the following Terms: *Madam, I cannot serve you while such a One is in Employment. I desire bumbly to resign my Commission, if Mr. ——— continues Secretary of State. I cannot answer that the City will lend Money, unless my L——d ——— be President of the Council. I must beg leave to surrender, except ——— has the Staff. I must not accept the Seals, unless ——— comes into the other Office.* This hath been the Language of late Years from Subjects to their Prince. Thus they stood upon Terms, and must have their own Conditions to ruin the Nation; nay, this dutiful Manner of Capitulating, had spread so far, that every Under-strapper began at length to perk up and assume: *He expected a Regiment; or, his Son must be a Major; or, his Brother a Collector; else he threatened to Vote according to his Conscience.*

ANOTHER of their glorious Attempts, was the Clause intended in the Bill for the *Encouragement of Learning*; by taking off the Obligation upon Fellows of Colleges in both Universities to enter upon Holy Orders: The Design of which, as I have heard the Undertakers often confess, was to remove the Care of educating Youth out of the Hands of the Clergy, who are apt to infuse into their Pupils too great a Regard for the Church and the Monarchy. But there was a farther Secret in this Clause, which may best be discovered by the first Projectors, or at least the *Garblers* of it; and these are known

known to be *Collins* and *Tindall*, in Conjunction with a most pious Lawyer their Disciple.

WHAT shall we say to their prodigious Skill in *Aribmetick*, discovered so constantly in their Decision of Elections; where they were able to make out by the *Rule of False*, that *Three* were more than *Three and Twenty*, and *Fifteen* than *Fifty*? Nay, it was a Maxim which I never heard any of them dispute, that in determining Elections, they were not to consider where the Right lay, but which of the *Candidates* was likelier to be true to the *Cause*. This they used to illustrate by a very apt and decent Similitude, of gaming with a Sharper; if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

ANOTHER Cast of their Politicks was that of endeavouring to impeach an innocent* *Lady*, for no Reason imaginable, but her faithful and diligent Service to the Queen, and the Favour her Majesty bore to her upon that Account, when others had acted contrary in so shameful a Manner. What else was the Crime? Had she *treated her Royal Mistress with Insolence or Neglect*? Had she *enriched her self by a long Practice of Bribery, and obtained exorbitant Grants*? Had she *engrossed her Majesty's Favours without admitting any Access but through her Means*? Had she *heaped Employments upon her self, her Family and Dependants*? Had she *an impious, baughty Behaviour*? Or, after all, was it a perfect Blunder and Mistake of *one Person for another*? I have heard of a Man who lay all Night on a rough Pavement; and in the Morning, wondering what it could possibly be that made him rest so ill, happened to see a Feather under him, and imputed the Uneasiness of his Lodging to That. I remember likewise the Story of a Giant in *Rabelais*,

* *The Lady Masham.*

belais, who used to feed upon *Wind-Mills*, but was unfortunately choaked with a small Lump of *fresh Butter*, before a warm Oven.

AND here I cannot but observe how very refined some People are in their Generosity and Gratitude. There is a certain great Person (I shall not say of what Sex) who for many Years past was the constant Mark and Butt, against which our present Malecontents used to discharge their Resentment: Upon whom they bestowed all the Terms of Scurility, that Malice, Envy and Indignation could invent; whom they publickly accused of every Vice that can possess a human Heart: Pride, Covetousness, Ingratitude, Oppression, Treachery, Dissimulation, Violence and Fury, all in the highest Extreams: But of late they have changed their Language on a sudden; that Person is now the most faithful and just that ever served a Prince; that Person, originally differing from them in Principles, as far as East and West; but united in Practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty Resemblances between each other, which they could never discover before. *Tanti est ut placeam tibi perire.*

BUT to return: How could it be longer suffered in a free Nation, that all Avenues to Preferment should be shut up, except a very few, when one or two stood constant *Centry*, who docked all Favours handed down; or spread a huge invisible Net between the Prince and Subject, through which nothing of Value could pass? And here I cannot but admire at one Consequence from this Management, which is of an extraordinary Nature: Generally speaking, Princes who have ill Ministers are apt to suffer in their Reputation, as well as in the Love of the People: But it was not so with the Queen.

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When the Sun is overcast by those Clouds he exhales from the Earth, we still acknowledge his Light and Influence, and at last find he can dispel and drive them down to the Horizon. The wisest Prince, by the Necessity of Affairs, the Misrepresentations of designing Men, or, the innocent Mistakes even of a good Predecessor; may find himself encompassed by a Crew of Courtiers, whom Time, Opportunity and Success, have miserably corrupted. And if he can save himself and his People from Ruin, under the *worst* Administration, what may not his Subjects hope for; when, with their universal Applause he changeth Hands, and maketh Use of the *best*?

ANOTHER great Objection with me against the late Party, was the cruel Tyranny they put upon *Conscience*, by a *barbarous Inquisition*, refusing to admit the least *Toleration* or *Indulgence*. They imposed a hundred *Tests*, but could never be prevailed with to *dispense* with, or *take off* the smallest, or even admit of *occasional Conformity*; but went on daily (as their Apostle *Tindall* expresseth it) *narrowing their Terms of Communion*; pronouncing nine Parts in ten of the Kingdom *Hereticks*, and shutting them out of the Pale of their Church. These very Men, who talk so much of a *Comprehension in Religion* among us, how came they to allow so little of it in *Politicks*, which is *their Sole Religion*? You shall hear them pretending to bewail the Animosities kept up between the Church of *England* and *Dissenters*, where the Differences in Opinion are so few and inconsiderable; yet these very Sons of *Moderation* were pleased to *excommunicate* every Man who disagreed with them in the smallest *Article* of their *Political Creed*; or, who refused to receive any new *Article*, how difficult soever to digest, which

which the Leaders imposed at Pleasure to serve their own Interest.

I WILL quit this Subject for the present, when I have told one Story. ‘ There was a great King in ‘ *Scythia*, whose Dominions were bounded to the ‘ *North*, by the poor mountainous Territories of ‘ a petty Lord, who paid Homage as the King’s ‘ Vassal. The *Scythian Prime Minister* being largely *Bribed*, indirectly obtained his Master’s Consent to suffer this Lord to build Forts, and provide himself with Arms, under Pretence of preventing the Inroads of the *Tartars*. This little depending Sovereign, finding he was now in a Condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon Terms, and threatned upon every Occasion to unite with the *Tartars*: Upon which the *Prime Minister*, who began to be in Pain about his *Head*, proposed a *Match* betwixt his Master and the only Daughter of this tributary Lord, which he had the good Luck to bring to pass; and from that Time valued himself as Author of a most glorious *Union*, which indeed was grown of absolute Necessity by his Corruption.’ This Passage, cited literally from an old History of *Sarmatia*, I thought fit to set down, on Purpose to perplex little smattering Remarkers, and put them upon the Hunt for an Application.

No. 20. Thursday, December 21, 1710.

— — — — — *Pugnacem scirent sapiente minorem.*

I AM very much at a Loss how to proceed upon the Subject intended in this Paper, which a new Incident hath led me to engage in : The Subject I mean, is that of *Soldiers* and the *Army* ; but being a Matter wholly out of my Trade, I shall handle it in as cautious a Manner as I am able.

IT is certain, that the Art of War hath suffered great Changes, almost in every Age and Country of the World ; however, there are some Maxims relating to it, that will be eternal Truths, and which every reasonable Man must allow.

IN the early Times of *Greece* and *Rome*, the Armies of those States were composed of their Citizens, who took no Pay, because the Quarrel was their own ; and therefore the War was usually decided in one Campaign ; or, if it lasted longer, yet in Winter the Soldiers returned to their several Callings, and were not distinguished from the rest of the People. The *Gotbick* Governments in *Europe*, although they were of Military Institution, yet observed almost the same Method. I shall instance only in *England*. Those who held Lands in *Capite* of the King, were obliged to attend him in his Wars with a certain Number of Men, who all held Lands from them at easy Rents on that Condition. These fought without Pay ; and when the Service was over, returned again to their Farms. It is recorded of *William Rufus*, that being absent

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in *Normandy*, and engaged in a War with his Brother, he ordered twenty thousand Men to be raised and sent over from hence to supply his Army; but having struck up a Peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to disband, on Condition they would pay him ten Shillings a Man; which amounted to a mighty Sum in those Days.

CONSIDER a Kingdom as a great Family, whereof the Prince is the Father; and it will appear plainly, that Mercenary Troops are only *Servants armed*, either to awe the *Children* at home; or else to defend from *Invaders*, the Family who are otherwise employed, and chuse to contribute out of their Stock for paying their Defenders, rather than leave their Affairs to be neglected in their Absence. The Art of making *Soldiery* a Trade, and keeping Armies in Pay, seems in *Europe* to have had two Originals. The First was *Usurpation*, when popular Men destroyed the Liberties of their Country, and seized the Power into their own Hands; which they were forced to maintain by hiring Guards to bridle the People. Such were anciently the *Tyrants* in most of the small States of *Greece*; and such were those in several Parts of *Italy*, about three or four Centuries ago, as *Mackiavel* informs us. The other Original of mercenary Armies, seems to have risen from larger Kingdoms or Commonwealths, which had subdued Provinces at a Distance, and were forced to maintain Troops upon them, to prevent Insurrections from the Natives: Of this Sort were *Macedon*, *Carthage* and *Rome* of old; *Venice* and *Holland* at this Day; as well as most Kingdoms of *Europe*. So that mercenary Forces in a free State, whether *Monarchy* or *Commonwealth*, seem only necessary, either for preserving their Conquests (which in such Governments it is not

prudent to extend too far) or else for maintaining a War at a Distance.

IN this last, which at present is our most important Case, there are certain Maxims that all wise Governments have observed.

THE first I shall mention is, That no *private* Man should have a Commission to be *General for Life*, let his Merit and Services be ever so great. Or, if a Prince be unadvisedly brought to offer such a Commission in one Hand, let him (to save Time and Blood) deliver up his *Crown* with the other. The *Romans*, in the Height and Perfection of their Government, usually sent out one of the new *Consuls* to be General against their most formidable Enemy, and recalled the old one, who often returned before the next Election; and according as he had Merit, was sent to command in some other Part; which, perhaps, was continued to him for a second, and sometimes a third Year. But if *Paulus Aemilius*, or *Scipio* himself, had presumed to move the *Senate* to continue their *Commissions for Life*, they certainly would have fallen a Sacrifice to the Jealousy of the People. *Cæsar* indeed (between whom and a certain *General*, some of late with much Discretion have made a *Parallel*) had his Command in *Gaul* continued to him for five Years, and was afterwards made perpetual *Dictator*; that is to say, *General for Life*, which gave him the Power and the Will of utterly destroying the *Roman* Liberty. But in his Time the *Romans* were very much degenerated; and great Corruptions had crept into their Morals and Discipline. However, we see there still were some Remains of a noble Spirit among them: For, when *Cæsar* sent to be chosen *Consul*, notwithstanding his Absence, they decreed

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he should come in Person, give up his Command, and *petere more majorum.*

IT is not impossible but a *General* may desire such a Commission out of *Inadvertency*, at the *Instigation of his Friends*; or, perhaps of his *Enemies*; or, meerly for the *Benefit and Honour of it*, without intending any such *dreadful Consequences*; and in that Case, a wise Prince or State may barely refuse it without shewing any Marks of their Displeasure. But the Request in its own Nature is highly Criminal, and ought to be entered so upon Record, to terrify *Others* in Time to come from venturing to make it.

ANOTHER Maxim to be observed by a free State engaged in War, is to keep the Military Power in absolute Subjection to the Civil, nor ever suffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A *General* and his Army are *Servants, hired* by the Civil Power to act as they are directed from thence, and with a Commission large or limited as the Administration shall think fit; for which they are largely paid in Profit and Honour. The whole System by which Armies are governed, is quite *alien* from the peaceful Institutions of States at home; and if the Rewards be so inviting as to tempt a *Senator* to take a Post in the Army, whilst he is there on his Duty, he ought to consider himself in no other Capacity. I know not any Sort of Men so apt as *Soldiers* are, to reprimand those who presume to interfere in what relates to their Trade. When they hear any of us in a Coffee House, wondring that such a Victory was not pursued; complaining that such a Town cost more Men and Money than it was worth to take it; or that such an Opportunity was lost, of fighting the Enemy; they presently reprove us, and often with Justice enough,

enough, for meddling in Matters out of our Sphere; and clearly convince us in Terms of Art that none of us understand. Nor do we escape so; for they reflect with the utmost Contempt on our Ignorance, that we who sit at home in Ease and Security, never stirring from our Fire-sides, should pretend from Books, and general Reason, to argue upon Military Affairs; which after all, if we may judge from the Share of Intellectuals in some who are said to excel that Way, is not so very profound or difficult a Science. But, if there be any Weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal; surely these Gentlemen have a much weaker Pretence to concern themselves in Matters of the Cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beside their Capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to prescribe Rules for Trade; to determine Points in Philosophy; to be Moderators in an Assembly of Divines; or direct in a Court of Justice; as to misplace their Talent in examining Affairs of State, especially in what relates to the *Choice of Ministers*, who are never so likely to be ill chosen as when approved by them. It would be endless to shew how pernicious all Steps of this Nature have been in many Parts and Ages of the World. I shall only produce two at present; one in *Rome*, and the other in *England*. The first is of *Cæsar*, when he came to the City with his Soldiers to *settle the Ministry*, there was an End of their Liberty for ever. The second was in the great Rebellion against King *Charles the First*. The King and both Houses were agreed upon the Terms of a Peace; but the Officers of the Army, (as *Ludlow* relates it) set a Guard upon the House of Commons, took a List out of the Members, and kept all by Force out of the House, except those who were for bringing the King

King to a Trial. Some Years after, when they erected a Military Government, and ruled the Island by *Major-Generals*, we received most admirable Instances of their Skill in Politicks. To say the Truth, such formidable Sticklers can have but two Reasons for desiring to interfere in the Administration ; the first is that of *Cæsar* and *Cromwell*, of which, God forbid I should accuse or suspect any Body ; since the second is pernicious enough, and that is, *To preserve those in Power who are for perpetuating a War, rather than see others advanced, who, they are sure, will use all proper Means to promote a safe and honourable Peace.*

THIRDLY, Since it is observed of Armies, that in the present Age they are brought to some Degree of Humanity, and a more regular Demeanor to each other, and to the World, than in former Times : It is certainly a good Maxim to endeavour preserving this Temper among them ; without which, they would soon degenerate into *Savages*. To this End it would be prudent, among other Things, to forbid that detestable Custom of *drinking to the Damnation or Confusion* of any Person whatsoever.

SUCH desperate Acts, and the Opinions infused along with them, into Heads already inflamed by Youth and Wine, are enough to scatter Madness and Sedition through a whole Camp. So seldom upon their Knees to *Pray*, and so often to *Curse* ! This is not properly Atheism, but a Sort of *Anti-Religion* prescribed by the Devil, and which an Atheist of common Sense would scorn as an Absurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common Practice last Autumn, *somewhere or other*, to *drink Damnation and Confusion* (and this with Circumstances very aggravating and horrid) to the *New Ministry*,

Ministry, and to those who *had any Hand* in turning out the *Old*; that is to say, to those Persons whom her Majesty has thought fit to employ in her greatest Affairs; with something *more than a Glance* against the Queen *herself*. And, if it be true, that these Or-*gies* were attended with certain *doubtful Words*, of *standing by their General*, who without Question ab-*horred* them: Let any Man consider the Con-*sequence* of such Dispositions, if they should happen to spread. I could only wish, for the Honour of the Army, as well as of the Queen and Ministry, that a Remedy had been applied to the Disease, in the *Place and Time* where it grew. If Men of such Principles were able to propagate them in a Camp, and were sure of a *General for Life*, who had any *Tincture of Ambition*, we might soon bid farewell to Ministries and Parliaments, whether new or old.

I AM only sorry such an Accident hath happened towards the Close of a War, when it is chiefly the Interest of those Gentlemen who have Posts in the Army, to behave themselves in such a Manner as might encourage the Legislature to make some Pro-*vision* for them, when there will be no further need of their Service. They are to consider themselves as Persons, by their Educations, unqualified for many other Stations of Life. Their Fortunes will not suf-*fer* them to retain to a Party after its *Fall*; nor have they Weight or Abilities to help towards its *Resur-
rection*. Their future Dependence is wholly upon the Prince and Parliament, to which they will never make their Way, by *solemn Execrations of the Ministry*; a Ministry of the Queen's own Election, and fully answering the Wishes of her People. This unhappy Step in some of *their Brethren*, may pass for an uncontrollable Argument, that Politicks are not their Business, or their Element. The Fortune
of

of War hath raised several Persons up to swelling Titles, and great Commands over Numbers of Men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into Civil Life, and appear in all Companies as if they were at the Head of their Regiments, with a Sort of Deportment that ought to have been dropt behind, in that short Passage to *Harwich*. It puts me in Mind of a Dialogue in *Lucian*, where *Charon* wafting one of their Predecessors over *Styx*, ordered him to strip off his Armour and fine Cloaths, yet still thought him too heavy; *but*, said he, *put off likewise that Pride and Presumption; those high swelling Words, and that vain Glory*; because they were of no Use on the other Side the Water. Thus, if all that Array of Military Grandeur were confined to the proper Scene, it would be much more for the Interest of the Owners, and less offensive to their Fellow Subjects.

No. 21. *Thursday, December 28, 1710.*

*Nam &3, majorum instituta tueri sacris, cæmonisq;
retinendis, sapientis est.*

*Ruituraq; semper
Stat (mirum!) moles*

WHOOVER is a true Lover of our Constitution, must needs be pleased to see what successful Endeavours are daily made to restore it in every Branch to its antient Form, from the languishing Condition it hath long lain in, and with such deadly Symptoms.

I HAVE

I HAVE already handled some Abuses during the *late Management*, and shall in convenient Time go on with the rest. Hitherto I have confined my self to those of the State; but with the good Leave of some who think it a Matter of small Moment, I shall now take Liberty to say something of the *Church*.

FOR several Years past, there hath not, I think, in *Europe*, been any Society of Men upon so unhappy a Foot, as the *Clergy of England*, or more hardly treated by those very Persons from whom they deserved much better Quarters, and in whose Power they chiefly had put it to use them so ill. I would not willingly misrepresent Facts; but I think it generally allowed by Enemies and Friends, that the bold and brave Defences made before the *Revolution* against those many Invasions of our Rights, proceeded principally from the Clergy; who are likewise known to have rejected all Advances made them to close with the Measures at that Time concerting; while the *Nonconformists*, to gratify their Ambition and Revenge, fell into the basest Compliances with the Court; approved of all Proceedings by their numerous and fulsome Addresses; and took Employments and Commissions by Virtue of the dispensing Power, against the direct Laws of the Land. All this is so true, that if ever the *Pretender* come in, they will, next to those of his own Religion, have the fairest Claim and Pretensions to his Favour, from their Merit and eminent Services to his supposed Father, who without such Encouragement would probably never have been misled to go the Lengths he did. It should likewise be remembred to the everlasting Honour of the *London Divines*, that in those dangerous Times they Writ and Published the best Collection of Arguments against *Popery*,

Popery, that ever appeared in the World. At the Revolution, the Body of the *Clergy* joined heartily in the common Cause (except a few, whose Sufferings perhaps have attoned for their Mistakes) like Men who are content to go about, for avoiding a *Gulph* or a *Precipice*, but come into the old strait Road again as soon as they can. But another Temper had now began to prevail. For, as in the Reign of King *Charles the First*, several well-meaning People were ready to join in reforming some Abuses; while others, who had deeper Designs, were still calling out for a *thorow Reformation*, which ended at last in the Ruin of the Kingdom; so, after the late King's coming to the Throne, there was a restless Cry from Men of *the same Principles*, for a *thorow Revolution*, which as *some* were carrying it on, must have ended in the Destruction of the Monarchy and Church.

WHAT a violent Humour hath run ever since against the *Clergy*, and from what Corner spread and fomented, is, I believe, manifest to all Men. It looked like a set Quarrel against *Christianity*; and, if we call to Mind several of the *Leaders*, it must in a great Measure have been actually so. Nothing was more common in Writing and Conversation, than to hear that Reverend Body charged in gross with what was utterly inconsistent: Despised for their Poverty, hated for their Riches; reproached with Avarice, and taxed with Luxury; accused for promoting arbitrary Power, and resisting the *Prerogative*; censured for their Pride, and scorned for their Meanness of Spirit. The Representatives of the lower *Clergy* railed at for disputing the Power of the *Bishops*, by the known Abhorers of Episcopacy; and abused for doing nothing in the Convocations, by those very Men who helped to bind up their

their Hands. The Vice, the Folly, the Ignorance of every single Man, were laid upon the Character. Their Jurisdiction, Censures and Discipline trampled under Foot, yet mighty Complaints against their excessive Power. The Men of Wit employed to turn the Priesthood it self into Ridicule. In short, groaning every where under the Weight of Poverty, Oppression, Contempt and Obloquy. A fair Return for the Time and Money spent in their Education to fit them for the Service of the Altar; and a fair Encouragement for worthy Men to come into the Church. However, it may be some Comfort for Persons of that Holy Function, that their Divine Founder, as well as His *Harbinger*, met with the like Reception. *John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say he bath a Devil; the Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, behold a Glutton and a Wine-bibber, &c.*

IN this deplorable State of the Clergy, nothing but the Hand of Providence, working by its glorious Instrument, the QUEEN, could have been able to turn the Peoples Hearts so surprizingly in their Favour. This Princeſs, destined for the Safety of *Europe*, and a Blessing to her Subjects, began Her Reign with a noble Benefaction to the Church; and it was hoped, the Nation would have followed such an Example; which nothing could have prevented, but the false Politicks of a Set of Men, who form their Maxims upon those of every tottering Commonwealth, which is always struggling for Life, subsifting by Expedients, and often at the Mercy of every powerful Neighbour. These Men take it into their Imagination, that Trade can never flourish unless the Country becomes a common Receptacle for all Nations, Religions, and Languages; a System only proper for small popular

popular States, but altogether unworthy; and below the Dignity of an Imperial Crown; which with us is best upheld by a Monarch in Possession of his just Prerogative, a Senate of Nobles and of Commons, and a Clergy established in its due Rights with a suitable Maintenance by Law. But these Men come with the Spirit of *Shopkeepers* to frame Rules for the Administration of Kingdoms; or, as if they thought the whole Art of Government consisted in the Importation of *Nutmegs*, and the Curing of *Herrings*. Such an Island as ours can afford enough to support the Majesty of a Crown, the Honour of a Nobility, and the Dignity of a Magistracy: We can encourage Arts and Sciences, maintain our Bishops and Clergy; and suffer our Gentry to live in a decent hospitable Manner; yet still there will remain Hands sufficient for Trade and Manufactures, which do always indeed deserve the best Encouragement, but not to a Degree of sending every living Soul into the *Warehouse* or the *Workhouse*.

THIS Pedantry of Republican Politicks hath done infinite Mischief among us: To this we owe those noble Schemes of treating Christianity as a System of *Speculative Opinions*, which no Man should be bound to believe; of making the *Being* and the Worship of God, a *Creature* of the State. In Consequence of these, that the Teachers of Religion ought to hold their Maintenance at Pleasure, or live by the Alms and charitable Collection of the People; and be equally encouraged of all Opinions: That, they should be *prescribed* what to teach, by those who are to learn from them; and upon Default, have a *Staff* and a *Pair of Shoes* left at their Door; with many other Projects of equal Piety, Wisdom, and Good Nature.

BUT

BUT, God be thanked, they and their Schemes are vanished, and *their Places shall know them no more*. When I think of that Inundation of Atheism, Infidelity, Prophaneness, and Licentiousness which were like to overwhelm us; from what Mouths and Hearts it first proceeded; and how the People joined with the QUEEN's Endeavours to divert this Flood; I cannot but reflect on that remarkable Passage in the *Revelations*, where *the Serpent with SEVEN Heads cast out of his Mouth Water after the Woman like a Flood, that he might cause Her to be carried away of the Flood: But the EARTH helped the Woman, and the Earth opened her Mouth, and swallowed up the Flood, which the Dragon had cast out of his Mouth*. For, the QUEEN having changed her Ministry suitable to her own Wisdom, and the Wishes of her Subjects, and having called a Free Parliament; at the same Time summoned the Convocation, by Her Royal Writ, *as in all Times had been accustomed*: And soon after their Meeting, sent a most gracious Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be communicated to the Bishops and Clergy of his Province, taking Notice of *the loose and prophane Principles which had been openly scattered and propagated among her Subjects: That the Consultations of the Clergy were particularly requisite to repress and prevent such daring Attempts, for which her Subjects, from all Parts of the Kingdom have shewn their just Abhorrence*. She hopes, the Endeavours of the Clergy, in this Respect, will not be unsuccessful; and for Her Part, is ready to give them all fit Encouragement, to proceed in the Dispatch of such Business as properly belongs to them; and to grant them Powers requisite to carry on so good a Work. In Conclusion, earnestly recommending to them, to avoid

*avoid Disputes; and determining to do all that in her
lies to compose and extinguish them.*

IT is to be hoped, that this last Part of Her Majesty's Letter, will be the first she will please to execute; for, it seems, this very Letter created the first Dispute. The Fact whereof was thus related: The Upper House having formed an Address to the QUEEN, before they received Her Majesty's Letter, sent both Address and Letter together, to the Lower House, with a Message, excusing their not mentioning the Letter in the Address, because *this* was formed before the *other* was received. The Lower House returned them, with a Desire, That an Address might be formed, with due Regard and Acknowledgments for the Letter. After some Difficulties, the same Address was sent down again with a Clause inserted, making some short Mention of the said Letter. This the Lower House did not think sufficient, and sent it back again with the same Request: Whereupon the Archbishop, after a short Consultation with *some* of his Brethren, immediately adjourned the Convocation for a Month; and no Address at all was sent to the QUEEN.

I UNDERSTAND not Ecclesiastical Affairs well enough to comment upon this Matter; but it seems to me, that all Methods of doing Service to the Church and Kingdom, by Means of a *Convocation*, may be at any Time eluded, if there be no Remedy against such an Incident. And, if this Proceeding be agreeable to the Institution, *spiritual Assemblies* must needs be strangely contrived, very different from any *Lay Senate* yet known in the World. Surely from the Nature of such a *Synod*, it must be a very unhappy Circumstance, when the Majority of the Bishops draws one way, and that of the

Lower

Lower Clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this Time suspected for any Principles bordering upon those professed by Enemies to Episcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater Part of the *present Set of Bishops*, I doubt it will call *some Things* to mind, that may turn the Scale of general Favour on the inferior Clergies Side; who, with a profound Duty to Her Majesty, are perfectly pleased with the *present Turn of Affairs*. Besides, *curious People* will be apt to enquire into the *Dates of some Promotions*; to call to Mind what Designs were then upon the Anvil; and from thence make *malicious Deductions*. Perhaps they will observe the Manner of Voting on the Bishops Bench, and compare it with what shall pass in the Upper House of Convocation. There is, however, one Comfort, that under the present Dispositions of the Kingdom, a Dislike to the Proceedings of any of their Lordships, even to the Number of a *Majority*, will be purely *Personal*, and not turned to the Disadvantage of the *Order*. And for my Part, as I am a true Lover of the Church, I had rather find the Inclinations of the People favourable to *Episcopacy* in general, than see a Majority of Prelates cried up by those who are *known Enemies* to the Character. Nor, indeed, hath any Thing given me more Offence for several Years past, than to observe how *some* of that Bench have been caressed by *certain Persons*; and *others* of them openly celebrated by the infamous Pens of Atheists, Republicans, and Fanaticks.

TIME and Mortality can only remedy these Inconveniences in the Church, which are not to be cured, like those in the State, by a *Change of Ministry*. If we may guess the Temper of a Convocation, from the Choice of a *Prolocutor*, as it is usual

to

to do that of a House of Commons by the *Speaker*; we may expect great Things from that Reverend Body, who have done themselves much Reputation, by pitching upon a *Gentleman* of so much Piety, Wit, and Learning, for that Office; and one who is so thoroughly versed in those Parts of Knowledge which are proper for it. I am sorry that the three *Latin Speeches*, delivered upon presenting the *Prolocutor*, were not made publick; they might perhaps have given us some Light into the Dispositions of each House: And besides, one of them is said to be so peculiar in the Style and Matter, as might have made up in *Entertainment*, what is wanted in *Instruction*.

No. 22. *Thursday, January 4, 1710.*

Nullæ sunt occultiores insidiae, quam eæ quæ latent in simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine.

THE following Answer is written in the true Style, and with the usual Candour of such Pieces; which I have imitated to the best of my Skill; and doubt not but the Reader will be extreamly satisfied with it.

The EXAMINER Croſs-examined: Or, A full Answer to the laſt EXAMINER.

IF I durſt be ſo bold with this Author, I would gladly ask him a familiar Question; *Pray, Sir, Who made you an Examiner?* He talks in one of his

insipid Papers, of *eight or nine thousand Corruptions*, while *We* were at the Head of Affairs; yet, in all this Time he hath hardly produced fifty: *Parturient montes, &c.*—*Hor.* But I shall confine my self at present, to his last Paper. He tells us, *The Queen began her Reign with a noble Benefaction to the Church.* Here's *Priestcraft* with a Witness; this is the constant Language of your *High-Flyers*, to call those who are *hired* to teach *the Religion of the Magistrate*, by the Name of the *Church*. But this is not all; for in the very next Line, he says, *It was hoped the Nation would have followed this Example.* You see the *Faction* begins already to speak out: This is an open Demand for the *Abby-Lands*; this furious *Zealot* would have us *Priest-ridden* again, like our *Popish Ancestors*: But, it is to be hoped the *Government* will take timely Care to suppress such audacious Attempts; else we have spent so much Blood and Treasure to very little Purpose, in maintaining *Religion* and *Revolution*. But what can we expect from a *Man*, who at one Blow endeavours to ruin our *Trade*? *A Country*, says he, *may flourish* (these are his own Words) *without being the common Receptacle for all Nations, Religions, and Languages.* What! We must immediately banish or murder the *Palatines*; forbid all Foreign *Merchants*, not only the *Exchange*, but the *Kingdom*; persecute the *Dissenters* with *Fire and Fagot*; and make it *High Treason* to speak any other *Tongue* but *English*. In another Place he talks of a *Serpent with seven Heads*, which is a manifest *Corruption* of the *Text*; for the *Words seven Heads* are not mentioned in that *Verse*. However, we know what *Serpent* he would mean; a *Serpent with fourteen Legs*; or, indeed, no *Serpent* at all, but *seven great Men* who were the *best Ministers*, the *truest*

truest Protestants, and the most disinterested Patriots that ever served a Prince. But nothing is so inconsistent as this Writer; I know not whether to call him a Whig or a Tory, a Protestant or a Papist: He finds fault with Convocations; says, *they are Assemblies strangely contrived*, and yet lays the Fault upon Us, that we *bound their Hands*: I wish we could have bound their *Tongues* too; but as fast as their *Hands* were bound, they could make a Shift to hold their *Pens*, and have their Share in the Guilt of ruining the hopefulllest Party and Ministry that ever *prescribed* to a Crown. This captious Gentleman is angry to see a *Majority of Prelates cried up by those who are Enemies to the Character*; now I always thought, that the Concessions of Enemies were more to a Man's Advantage than the Praise of his Friends. *Time and Mortality*, he says, *can only remedy these Inconveniencies in the Church*. That is, in other Words, When certain Bishops are dead, we shall have others of our own Stamp. Not so fast: You are not yet so sure of your Game. We have already got one *comfortable Loss* in *Spain*, although by a General of our own. For Joy of which, our Junta had a merry Meeting at the House of their great Profelyte, on the very Day we received the happy News. One or two more such *Blows* would, perhaps, set us right again; and then we can employ *Mortality* as well as others. He concludes with wishing, that *three Letters, spoke when the Prolocutor was presented, were made publick*. I suppose he would be content with *One*, and that is more than we shall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have *Grace*, without either *Eloquence* or *Latin*; which is all I shall say to his malicious *Innuendo*.

HAVING thus, I hope, given a *full satisfactory Answer* to the *Examiner's* last Paper; I shall now go on to a more important Affair; which is, to prove, by several undeniable Instances, that the late Ministry, and their Abettors, were true Friends to the Church. It is yet, I confess, a Secret to the Clergy, wherein this Friendship did consist. For Information therefore of that Reverend Body, that they may never forget their Benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant; I have determined to display *our* Merits to the World upon that weighty Article. And I could wish, that what I am to say were to be written in Brafs, for an eternal Memorial; the rather, because for the future, the Church must endeavour to stand unsupported by those Patrons, who expired in doing it their *last good Office*, and will never *rise* to preserve it any more.

LET us therefore produce the pious Endeavours of these Church-Defenders, who were its Patrons by their Power and Authority, as well as Ornaments of it by their Exemplary Lives.

First, St. Paul tells us, *There must be Heresies in the Church, that the Truth may be manifest*; and therefore by due Course of reasoning, the more Heresies there are, the more *manifest* will the Truth be made. This being maturely considered by these Lovers of the Church, they endeavoured to propagate as many Heresies as they could, that the Light of Truth might shine the clearer.

Secondly, To shew their Zeal for the Church's Defence, they took the Care of it intirely out of the Hands of *God Almighty* (because that was a *foreign Jurisdiction*) and made it their own *Creature*, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their Orders

Orders to *Tindal*, and others, to give publick Notice of it.

Thirdly, BECAUSE Charity is the most celebrated of all Christian Virtues, therefore, they extended theirs beyond all Bounds; and instead of shutting the Church against *Dissenters*, were ready to open it to all *Comers*, and *break down its Walls*, rather than that any should want room to enter. The Strength of a State, we know, consisteth in the Number of People, how different soever in their Callings; and why should not the Strength of a Church consist in the same, how different soever in their *Creed*? For that Reason, they charitably attempted to abolish the *Test*, which tyed up so many Hands from getting Employments, in order to protect the Church.

I KNOW very well that this Attempt is objected to us as a Crime, by several *malignant Tories*; and denied as a Slander by many unthinking People among our selves. The latter are apt in their Defence to ask such Questions as these; *Was your Test repealed? Had we not the Majority? Might we not have done it if we pleased?* To which the others answser, *You did what you could; you prepared the Way, but you found a fatal Impediment from that Quarter, whence the Sanction of the Law must come; and therefore to save your Credit, you condemned a Paper to be burnt which your selves had brought in.* But alas! The Miscarriage of that noble Project for the Safety of the Church, had another Original; the Knowledge whereof depends upon a Piece of secret *History* that I shall now lay open.

THESE Church Protectors had directed a *Presbyterian Preacher* to draw up a Bill for repealing the *Test*: It was accordingly done with great Art; and in the Preamble, several Expressions of Civility to the *established Church*; and when it came to the

Qualifications of all those who were to enter on any Office, the Compiler had taken special Care to make them large enough for all Christians whatsoever, by transcribing the very Words (only formed into an *Oath*) which *Quakers* are obliged to profess by a former *Act of Parliament*; as I shall here set them down. *I A. B. profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God; and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever more, and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine Inspiration.* This Bill was carried to the chief Leaders for their Approbation, with these terrible Words turned into an *Oath*: What should they do? Those few among them who fancied they believed in *God*, were sure they did not believe in *Christ*, or the *Holy Spirit*, or one Syllable of the *Bible*, and they were as sure that every Body knew their Opinion in those Matters, which indeed they had been always too sincere to Disguise; how therefore could they take such an *Oath* as that, without ruining their Reputation with *Tindal, Toland, Coward, Collins, Clenden*, and all the Tribe of *Free-Thinkers*, and so give a *Scandal to weak Unbelievers*. Upon this nice Point of Honour and Conscience the Matter was hushed, the Project for repealing the *Test* let fall, and the *Sacrament* left as the smaller Evil of the two.

Fourthly, THESE Pillars of the Church, because *the Harvest was great, and the Labourers few*, and because they would ease the Bishops from that grievous Trouble of *laying on Hands*, were willing to allow that Power to all Men whatsoever, to prevent that terrible Consequence of *unchurching* those, who thought a Hand from under a *Cloak*, as effectual as from *Lawn-Sleeves*. And indeed, what could more contribute to the Advancement of true Religion,

Religion, than a Bill of General *Naturalization for Priesthood*?

Fifthly, IN order to fix Religion in the Minds of Men, because Truth never appears so fair as when confronted with Falshood, they directed Books to be published, that denied the Being of a God, the Divinity of the *Second* and *Third Person*, the Truth of all *Revelation*, and the Immortality of the Soul. To this we owe that great Sense of Religion, that Respect and Kindness to the Clergy, and that true Love of Virtue so manifest of late Years among the Youth of our Nation. Nor could any Thing be more Discreet, than to leave the Merits of each Cause to such wise impartial Judges, who might otherwise fall under the Slavery of believing by *Education and Prejudice*.

Sixtly, BECAUSE nothing so much distracts the Thoughts, as too great Variety of Subjects ; therefore they had kindly prepared a Bill, to prescribe the Clergy what Subjects they should Preach upon, and in what Manner, that they might be at no Loss ; and this, no doubt, was a proper Work for such Hands, so thoroughly versed in the Theory and Practice of all Christian Duties.

Sevently, To save Trouble and Expence to the Clergy, they contrived that *Convocations* should meet as seldom as possible ; and when they were suffered to assemble, would never allow them to meddle with any Business ; because they said, the Office of a Clergyman was enough to take up the *whole Man*. For the same Reason they were very desirous to excuse the Bishops from sitting in Parliament, that they might be at more Leisure to stay at Home and look after the Clergy.

I SHALL mention at present but one more Instance of their pious Zeal for the Church. They had

had somewhere heard the Maxim, that *Sanguis Martyrum est Semen Ecclesiae*; therefore in order to *sow this Seed*, they began with *Impeaching a Clergyman*: And that it might be a true Martyrdom in every Circumstance, they proceeded as much as possible against common Law, which the *long-Robe Part* of the *Managers* knew was in a hundred Instances directly contrary to all their Positions, and *were sufficiently warned of it before-hand*; but their Love of the Church prevailed. Neither was this *Impeachment* an Affair taken up on a sudden. For, a certain great Person, (whose Character hath been lately published by some stupid and lying Writer) who very much distinguished himself by his Zeal in forwarding this *Impeachment*, had several Years ago endeavoured to perjuade the late King to give way to just such another Attempt. He told his Majesty, there was a certain Clergyman preached very dangerous Sermons, and that the only Way to put a Stop to such Insolence, was to Impeach him in Parliament. The King enquired the Character of the Man; *O Sir, said my Lord, the most violent, hot, positive Fellow in England; so extremely wilful, that I believe he would be heartily glad to be a Martyr.* The King answered, *Is it so? Then I am resolved to disappoint him;* and would never hear more of the Matter; by which that hopeful Project unhappily miscarried.

I H A V E hitherto confined my self to those Endeavours for the Good of the Church, which were common to all the Leaders and principal Men of *Our Party*; but if my Paper were not drawing towards an End, I could produce several Instances of particular Persons, who by their exemplary Lives and Actions have confirmed the Character so justly due to the whole Body. I shall at present mention only

only two, and illustrate the Merits of each by a Matter of Fact.

THAT worthy Patriot and *true Lover* of the Church, whom a *late Examiner* is supposed to reflect on under the Name of *Verres*, felt a pious Impulse to be a Benefactor to the Cathedral of *Gloucester*; but how to do it in the most decent, generous Manner, was the Question. At last he thought of an Expedient: One Morning or Night he stole into the Church, mounted upon the Altar, and there did that which in cleanly Phrase is called *disburthening of Nature*: He was discovered, prosecuted, and condemned to pay a thousand *Pounds*; which Sum was all employed to *support the Church*, as no doubt, the *Benefactor* meant it.

THERE is another Person whom the same Writer is thought to point at under the Name of *Will Bigamy*. This Gentleman, knowing that Marriage Fees were a considerable Perquisite to the Clergy, found out a Way of improving them *Cent. per Cent.* for the *Good of the Church*. His Invention was to marry a second Wife while the first was alive; convincing her of the Lawfulness by such Arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the same Example: These he had drawn up in Writing, with Intention to publish for the *general Good*; and it is hoped he may *now* have Leisure to finish them.

No. 23. Thursday, January 21, 1710.

*Bellum ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi Pax
quæsita videatur.*

AM satisfied, that no reasonable Man of either Party, can justly be offended at any Thing I said in one of my Papers relating to the Army: From the Maxims I there laid down, perhaps many Persons may conclude, that I had a mind the World should think, there had been Occasion given by some late Abuses among Men of that Calling; and they conclude right. For my Intention is, that my Hints may be understood, and my Quotations and Allegories applied; and I am in some Pain to think that in the *Orcades* on one Side, and the *Western Coasts of Ireland* on the other, the *Examiner* may want a *Key* in several Parts, which I wish I could furnish them with. As for the *French King*, I am under no concern at all; I hear he hath left off reading my Papers, and by what he hath found in them, dislikes our Proceedings more than ever; and intends either to make great Additions to his Armies, or propose new Terms for a Peace: So false is that which is commonly reported, of his mighty Satisfaction in our Change of Ministry: And I think it clear that his late Letter of Thanks to the *Tories of Great Britain*, must either have been extorted from him against his Judgment; or was a Cast of his Politicks to set the People against the present Ministry; wherein it hath *wonderfully* succeeded.

BUT,

BUT, although I have never heard, or never regarded any Objections made against that Paper, which mentions the Army; yet I intended this as a Sort of Apology for it. And first, I declare, (because we live in a mistaking World) that in hinting at some Proceedings, wherein a few Persons are said to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the Body of the Army. I have too much detested that barbarous Injustice among the Writers of a late Party, to be ever guilty of it my self; I mean the accusing Societies for the Crimes of a few. On the other Side, I must take Leave to believe, that Armies are no more exempt from Corruptions than other Numbers of Men. The Maxims proposed were occasionally introduced by the Report of certain Facts, which I am bound to believe is true, because I am sure, considering what hath passed, it would be a Crime to think otherwise. All Posts in the Army; all Employments at Court, and many others, are (*or ought to be*) given and resumed at the mere Pleasure of the Prince; yet, when I see a great Officer broke, a Change made in the Court, or the Ministry, and this under the most just and gracious Princes that ever reigned; I must naturally conclude it is done upon prudent Considerations, and for some great Demerit in the Sufferers. But then, is not the Punishment sufficient? Is it Generous or Charitable to trample on the Unfortunate, and expose their Faults to the World in the strongest Colours? And would it not suit better with Magnanimity as well as common good Nature, to leave them at quiet to their own Thoughts and Repentance? Yes, without Question, provided it could be so contrived, that their very Names, as well as Actions, might be forgotten for ever: *Such an Act of Oblivion would be for the Honour*

Honour of our Nation, and beget a better Opinion of us with Posterity ; and then I might have spared the World and my self the Trouble of *Examining*. But, at present, there is a cruel *Dilemma* in the Case : The Friends and Abettors of the late Ministry are every Day publishing their Praises to the World, and casting Reflections upon the present Persons in Power. This is so barefaced an *Aspersion* upon the Queen, that I know not how any good Subject can with Patience endure it, although he were ever so indifferent with Regard to the Opinions in Dispute. Shall they who have lost all Power and Love of the People, be allowed to scatter their Poison ; and shall not those, who are, at least, of the strongest Side, be suffered to bring an *Antidote* ? And how can we undeceive the deluded Remainder, but by letting them see, that those discarded Statesmen were justly laid aside ; and producing as many Instances to prove it as we can ? Not from any personal Hatred to them, but in *Justification* to the best of Queens. The many Scurrilities I have heard and read against this poor Paper of mine, are in such a Strain, that considering the present State of Affairs, they look like a Jest. They usually run after the following Manner : *What ? Shall this insolent Writer presume to censure the late Ministry, the ablest, the most faithful, and truest Lovers of their Country, and its Constitution, that ever served a Prince ? Shall he reflect on the best House of Commons that ever sat within those Walls ? Hath not the Queen changed both for a Ministry and Parliament of Jacobites and High-flyers, who are selling us to France, and bringing over the Pretender ? This is the very Sum and Force of all their Reasonings, and this their Method of complaining against the Examiner. In Them it is humble and loyal*

loyal to reflect upon the Queen, and the Ministry, and Parliament she hath chosen with the universal Applause of her People: In *Us* it is insolent to defend her Majesty and her Choice; or to answer their Objections, by shewing the Reasons why those Changes were necessary.

THE same Style hath been used in the late Case concerning some Gentlemen in the Army: Such a Clamour was raised by a Set of Men, who had the Boldnes to tax the Administration with Cruelty and Injustice, that I thought it necessary to interfere a little, by shewing the ill Consequences that might arise from some Proceedings, although without Application to particular Persons. And what do they offer in Answer? Nothing but a few poor common Places against *Calumny* and *Informers*; which might have been full as just and seafonable in a Plot against the Sacred Person of the Queen.

BUT, by the Way; why are these idle People so indiscreet to name those *two Words*, which afford Occasion of laying open to the World such an infamous Scene of *Subornation* and *Perjury*, as well as *Calumny* and *Informing*, as I believe is without Example: When a whole *Cabal* attempted an *Action*, wherein a * *condemned Criminal* refused to join with them for the Reward of his Life? Not that I disapprove their Sagacity, who could foretel so long before, by what *Hand* they should one Day fall; and therefore thought any Means justifiable by which they might prevent it.

BUT waving this at present; it must be owned in Justice to the Army, that those Violences did not proceed so far among them as some have believed; nor ought the Madness of a *Few* to be laid at their Doors. For the rest, I am so far from denying the due Praises to those victorious Troops,

who did their Part in procuring so many Victories for the *Allies*; that I could wish every Officer and private Soldier had their full Share of Honour in proportion to their Deserts; being thus far of the *Athenian's* Mind, who when it was proposed that the Statue of *Miltiades* should be set up *alone* in some publick Place of the City; said, they would agree to it, *whenever he conquered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the Officers of the Army, for preferring in their Hearts the late Ministry before the present; or, if wishing alone could be of any Use, to wish their Continuance; because then they might be secure of the Wars Continuance too: Whereas, since Affairs have been put into other Hands, they may perhaps lie under some Apprehensions of a Peace; which no Army, especially in a Course of Success, was ever inclined to; and which all wise States have in such a Juncture, chiefly endeavoured. This is a Point wherein the Civil and Military Politicks have always disagreed. And for that Reason, I affirmed it necessary in all free Governments, that the latter should be absolutely in Subjection to the former; otherwise, one of these two Inconveniencies must arise; either to be perpetually in War, or to turn the *Civil* Institution into a *Military*.

I AM ready to allow all that hath been said of the Valour and Experience of our Troops, who have fully contributed their Part to the great Successes abroad; nor is it their *Fault*, that those important Victories, had no better Consequences at home, although it may be their *Advantage*. War is their Trade and Busines: To improve and cultivate the Advantages of Success, is an Affair of the Cabinet; and the Neglect of this, whether proceeding from Weakness or Corruption, according to the usual Uncertainty

certainty of Wars, may be of the most fatal Consequence to a Nation. For, pray let me represent our Condition in such a Light, as I believe both Parties will allow, although perhaps not the Consequences I shall deduce from it. We have been for above nine Years blest with a **QUEEN**, who, besides all Virtues that can enter into the Composition of a private Person, possesseth every regal Quality that can contribute to make a People happy: Of great Wisdom, yet ready to receive the Advice of her Councillors: Of much Discernment in chusing proper Instruments, when she follows her own Judgment; and only capable of being deceived by that excess of Goodness, which makes her judge of others by herself. Frugal in her Management, in Order to contribute to the Publick, which in Proportion she doth, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her Subjects; but from her own Nature, generous and charitable to all who want or deserve; and in order to exercise those Virtues, denying her self all Entertainments of Expence, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at least in *Flanders*, our Arms have been crowned with perpetual Success in Battles and Sieges; not to mention several fortunate Actions in *Spain*. These Facts being thus stated, which none can deny; it is natural to ask, how we have improved such Advantages, and to what Account they have turned? I shall use no discouraging Terms. When a Patient grows daily worse by the tampering of Mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the best Physicians before the Case grows desperate: But I would ask whether *France*, or any other Kingdom, would have made so little Use of such prodigious Opportunities; the Fruits whereof could never have fallen to the Ground, without the extreamest Degree of Folly and Corruption;

ruption ; and where those have lain, let the World judge : Instead of aiming at Peace, while we had the Advantage of the War, which hath been the perpetual Maxim of all wise States ; it hath been reckoned Factious and Malignant even to express our Wishes for it ; and such a Condition imposed, as was never offered to any Prince who had an Inch of Ground to dispute ; *Quæ enim est conditio pacis ; in qua ei cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest ?*

IT is not obvious to conceive what could move Men who sat at Home, and were called to consult upon the Good of the Kingdom, to be so utterly averse from putting an End to a long expensive War, which the victorious, as well as conquered Side, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them were Men of the Sword ; they had no Share in the Honour ; they had made large Fortunes, and were at the Head of all Affairs. But, they well knew by what Tenour they held their Power ; that the Queen saw through their Designs ; that they had entirely lost the Hearts of the Clergy ; that the Landed Men were against them ; that they were detested by the Body of the People ; and that nothing bore them up but their Credit with the Bank and other Stocks, which would be neither formidable nor necessary when the War was at an End. For these Reasons they resolved to disappoint all Overtures of a Peace, until they and their Party should be so deeply rooted as to make it impossible to shake them. To this End they began to precipitate Matters so fast, as in a little Time must have ruined the Constitution, if the Crown had not interposed, and rather ventured the accidental Effects of their Malice, than such dreadful Consequences of their Power. And indeed, if the former Dangers had been greater than some hoped

hoped or feared, I see no Difficulty in the Choice ; which was the same with his, who said, *be had rather be devoured by Wolves than by Rats.* I therefore still insist that we cannot wonder at, or find Fault with the Army, for concurring with a Ministry who was for prolonging the War. The Inclination is natural in them all ; pardonable in those who have not yet made their Fortunes, and is lawful in the rest, as Love of Power, or Love of Money can make it. But, as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this Inclination is, when it is not under Check of the Civil Power, or when a corrupt Ministry joins in giving it too great a Scope ; the Consequence can be nothing less than infallible Ruin and Slavery to a State.

AFTER I had finished this Paper, the Printer sent me two small Pamphlets, called, *The Management of the War*, written with some Plausibility, much Artifice, and abundance of Misrepresentation, as well as direct Falshoods in Point of Fact. These I have thought worth *Examining*, which I shall accordingly do when I find an Opportunity.

No. 24. *Thursday, January 18, 1710.*

Parva momenta in spem metumq; impellunt animos.

HOPEs are natural to most Men, especially to sanguine Complexions ; and, among the various Changes that happen in the Course of publick Affairs, they are seldom without some Grounds : Even in desperate Cases, where it is impossible they should have any Foundation, they are

often affected to keep a Countenance, and make an Enemy think we have some Resource which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for several Months past the Condition of those People, whom I am forced for want of other Phrases, to call the *Ruined Party*. They have taken up since their Fall, some real and some pretended Hopes. When the Earl of *Sunderland* was discarded, they hoped Her Majesty would proceed no farther in the Change of Her Ministry; and had the Insolence to misrepresent Her Words to foreign States. They *hoped* no Body durst advise the Dissolution of the Parliament: When this was done, and further Alterations made at Court, they *hoped* and endeavoured to ruin the Credit of the Nation. They likewise *hoped* that we should have some terrible Loss abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their Bottom. But, of all their *Hopes*, whether real or assumed, there is none more extraordinary than that which they now would seem to place their whole Confidence in: That this great Turn of Affairs was only occasioned by a short Madness of the People, from which they will recover in a little Time, when their Eyes are open, and they grow cool and sober enough to consider the Truth of Things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that some few of the deepest sighted among these Reasoners, are well enough convinced how vain all such *Hopes* must be: But for the rest, the wisest of them seem to have been very ill Judges of the People's Dispositions, the Want of which Knowledge was a principal Occasion to hasten their Ruin: For surely had they suspected which Way the popular Current inclined, they never would have run against it by that *Impeachment*. I therefore conclude, they generally are

so blind, as to imagine some Comfort from this fantastical Opinion, that the People of *England* are at present distracted, but will shortly come to their Senses again.

FOR the Service therefore of our Adversaries, and Friends, I shall briefly *Examine* this Point, by shewing what are the Causes and Symptoms of a People's Madness; and how it differs from their natural Bent and Inclination.

IT is *Machiavel's* Observation, that the People, when left to their own Judgment, do seldom mistake their true Interests; and indeed they naturally love the Constitution they are born under; never desiring to change but under great Oppressions. However, they are to be deceived by several Means. It hath often happened in *Greece*, and sometimes in *Rome*, that those very Men who have contributed to shake off a former Tyranny, have, instead of restoring the old Constitution, deluded the People into a worse and more ignominious Slavery. Besides, all great Changes have the same Effect upon Commonwealths that Thunder hath upon Liquors; making the *Dregs* fly up to the Top: The lowest *Plebeians* rise to the Head of Affairs, and there preserve themselves by representing the Nobles and other Friends to the old Government, as Enemies to the Publick. The encouraging of new Mysteries and new Deities, with the Pretences of further Purity in Religion, hath likewise been a frequent Topick to mislead the People. And, not to mention more, the promoting false Reports of Dangers from Abroad, hath often served to prevent them from fencing against real Dangers at Home. By these and the like Arts, in Conjunction with a great Depravity of Manners, and a weak or corrupt Administration, the Madness of the People hath risen to such a Height,

as to break in Pieces the whole Frame of the best instituted Governments. But however, such great Frenzies being artificially raised, are a perfect Force and Constraint upon human Nature ; and under a wise steady Prince, will certainly decline of themselves ; settling like the Seas after a Storm ; and then the true Bent and Genius of the People will appear. Ancient and Modern Story are full of Instances to illustrate what I say. In our own Island we had a great Example of a long Madness in the People, kept up by a thousand Artifices like intoxicating Medicines, until the Constitution was destroyed ; yet the Malignity being spent, and the Humour exhausted that served to foment it ; before the Usurpers could fix upon a new Scheme, the People suddenly recovered, and peaceably restored the old Constitution.

FROM what I have offered, it will be easy to decide, whether this late Change in the Dispositions of the People were a new Madness, or a Recovery from an old One. Neither do I see how it can be proved that such a Change had in any Circumstance the least Symptoms of Madness, whether my Description of it be right or no. It is agreed, that the truest Way of judging the Dispositions of the People in the Choice of their Representatives, is by computing the County Elections ; and in these it is manifest, that five in six are entirely for the present Measures ; although the Court were so far from interposing its Credit, that there was no Change in the Admiralty, nor above one or two in the Lieutenancy ; nor any other Methods used to influence Elections. The free unextorted Addresses sent some Time before from every Part of the Kingdom, plainly shewed what Sort of Bent the People had taken, and from what Motives, The Election of Members

Members for this great City, carried contrary to all Conjecture against the united Interest of those two great Bodies, the *Bank* and *East-India-Company*, was another convincing Argument. Besides, the *Whigs* themselves have always confessed, that the Bulk of landed Men in *England* was generally of *Tories*: So, that this Change must be allowed to be according to the natural Genius and Disposition of the People; whether it were just and reasonable in it self or no.

NOTWITHSTANDING all which, you shall frequently hear the Partisans of the late Men in Power, gravely and decisively pronounce, that the present Ministry cannot possibly stand. Now, they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their Opinion upon the Iniquity of the *last*, being so far established, and deeply rooted, that no Endeavours of honest Men, will be able to restore Things to their former State. Or else these Reasoners have been so misled by twenty Years Mismanagement, that they have forgot our Constitution, and talk as if our Monarchy and Revolution began together. But the Body of the People is wiser; and by the Choice they have made, shew they do understand our Constitution, and would bring it back to the old Form; which, if the new Ministers take Care to maintain, they will and ought to stand; otherwise they may fall like their Predecessors. But I think, we may easily foresee what a Parliament freely chosen, without Threatning or Corruption, is likely to do, when no Man shall be in any Danger to lose his *Place* by the Freedom of his *Voice*.

BUT, who are those Advancers of this Opinion, that the present Ministry cannot hold? It must be either

either such as are afraid to be called to an Account, in case it should hold ; or those who keep Offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed ; and may reasonably apprehend to be turned out, for worthier Men to come into their Places ; since perhaps it will be necessary to make some Changes, that the publick Busines of the Nation may go on : Or lastly, *Stock-jobbers*, who industriously spread such Reports, that Actions may fall, and their Friends buy to Advantage.

YET these Hopes, thus freely expressed, as they are more sincere, so they are more supportable, than when they appear under the Disguise and Pretence of Fears. Some of these Gentlemen are employed to shake their Heads in proper Companies ; to doubt where all This will end ; to be in mighty Pain for the Nation ; to shew how impossible it is, that the Publick Credit can be supported : To pray that all may do well in whatever Hands ; but very much to doubt that the *Pretender* is at the Bottom. I know not any Thing so nearly resembling this Behaviour, as what I have often seen among the Friends of a Sick Man, whose Interest it is that he should die : The Physicians protest they feel no Danger ; the Symptoms are good, the Medicines answer Expectation ; yet still they are not to be comforted ; they whisper, he is a gone Man ; it is not possible he should hold out ; he hath perfect Death in his Face ; they never liked this Doctor : At last the Patient recovers, and their Joy is as false as their Grief.

I BELIEVE there is no Man so sanguine, who did not apprehend some ill Consequences from the late Change, although not in any Proportion to the good Ones : But it is manifest, the Former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either

either at Home or Abroad, by the Fears of our Friends, or the Hopes of our Enemies. Those Remedies that stir the Humours in a diseased Body, are at first more painful than the Malady it self ; yet certain Death is the Consequence of deferring to remove them too long. Actions have fallen, and the Loans are said to come in slowly. But beside, that something of this must have been, whether there had been any Change or no ; beside, that the Surprise of every Change, for the better as well as the worse, is apt to affect Credit for a while ; there is a further Reason, which is plain and scandalous. When the late Party was at the Helm ; those who were called the *Tories*, never put their Resentments in Ballance with the Safety of the Nation ; but chearfully contributed to the Common Cause. Now the Scene is changed, the fallen Party seems to act from very different Motives : They have *given the Word about* ; they will keep their Money and be passive ; and in this Point stand upon the same Foot with *Papists* and *Nonjurors*. What would have become of the Publick, if the present great Majority had acted thus, during the late Administration ? Had acted thus, before the others were Masters of that Wealth they have squeezed out of the landed Men, and with the Strength of that, would now hold the Kingdom at Defiance.

THUS much I have thought fit to say, without pointing Reflections upon any particular Person ; which I have hitherto but sparingly done, and that only towards those whose Characters are too profigate, that the Managing of them should be of any Consequence : Besides, as it is a Talent I am not naturally fond of, so, in the Subjects I treat, it is generally needless. If I display the Effects of Avarice and Ambition, of Bribery and Corruption, of gross

Immorality and Irreligion ; those who are the least conversant in Things, will easily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any Weight upon the Objections of such who charge me with this Proceeding : It is notorious enough that the Writers of the other Side were the first Aggressors. Not to mention their scurrilous Libels many Years ago, directly levelled at particular Persons ; how many Papers do now come out every Week, full of rude Invectives against the present Ministry, with the first and last Letters of their Names to prevent Mistakes ? It is good sometimes to let these People see, that we neither want Spirit nor Materials to retaliate ; and therefore in this Point *alone* I shall follow their Example, whenever I find my self sufficiently provoked ; only with one Addition, that whatever Charges I bring, either general or particular, shall be religiously true, either upon avowed Facts which none can deny, or such as I can prove from my own Knowledge.

BEING resolved publickly to confess any Mistakes I have been guilty of ; I do here humbly desire the Readers Pardon for one of mighty Importance, about a Fact in one of my Papers, said to be done in the Cathedral of *Gloucester*. A whole *Hydra* of Errors in two Words : For as I am since informed, it was neither in the Cathedral, nor City, nor County of *Gloucester*, but some other Church of that Diocese. If I had ever met any other Objection of equal Weight, although from the meanest Hands, I should certainly have answered it,

No. 25. *Thursday, January 25, 1710.*

Διαλεξά μενοι τινὰ ἡσυχῆ, τὸ μὲν συμπαν δέ τε τῇ δυνατεσκ χ' κατὰ τὰν ἐχθρῶν συνάμισσαν.

Summissa quædam voce collocuti sunt; quorum summa erat de dominatione sibi confirmanda, ac inimicis delendis conjuratio.

NOT many Days ago I observed a Knot of discontented Gentlemen cursing the *Tories* to Hell for their Uncharitableness, in affirming, that if the late Ministry had continued to this Time, we should have had neither *Church* nor *Monarchy* left. They are usually so candid as to call that the Opinion of a Party, which they hear in a Coffee-house, or over a Bottle from some warm young People, whom it is odds but they have provoked to say more than they believed, by some Positions as absurd and ridiculous of their own. And so it proved in this very Instance: For, asking one of these Gentlemen, what it was that provoked those he had been disputing with, to advance such a Paradox? He assured me in a very calm Manner, it was nothing in the World, but that himself and some others of the Company had made it appear, that the Design of the present Parliament and Ministry, was to bring in *Popery*, *Arbitrary Power*, and the *Pretender*: Which I take to be an Opinion fifty Times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the *Whigs*: Because I defy our Adversaries to produce one single Reason for suspecting such Designs in the Persons now at the Helm;

Helm; whereas I can upon Demand produce twenty to shew, that some late Men had strong Views towards a *Commonwealth*, and the Alteration of the *Church*.

IT is natural indeed, when a Storm is over, that hath only untiled our Houses, and blown down some of our Chimnies; to consider what further Mischiefs might have ensued, if it had lasted longer. However, in the present Case, I am not of the Opinion above-mentioned; I believe the Church and State might have lasted *somewhat longer*, although the late Enemies to both had done their worst: I can hardly conceive how Things would have been so soon ripe for a new Revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make such large and sudden Strides, it must have come to Blows; and, according to the Computation we have now Reason to think a right One, I can partly guess what would have been the Issue. Besides we are sure, the Queen would have interposed before they came to Extremities; and as little as they regarded the Regal Authority, would have been a Check in their Career.

BUT instead of this Question; What would have been the Consequence if the late Ministry had continued? I will propose another, which will be more useful for us to consider; and that is, *What we may reasonably expect They will do, if ever they come into Power again?* This, we know, is the Design and Endeavour of all those Scribbles which daily fly about in their Favour; of all the false, insolent, and scandalous Libels against the present Administration; and of all those Engines set at work to sink the *Actions*, and blow up the publick Credit. As for those who shew their Inclinations by writing, there is one Consideration, which I wonder doth not sometimes affect them: For, how can they forbear

bear having a good Opinion of the Gentleness and Innocence of those, who permit them to employ their Pens as they do? It puts me in Mind of an insolent pragmatical Orator somewhere in *Greece*, who railing with great Freedom at the chief Men in the State; was answered by one who had been very instrumental in recovering the Liberty of the City; That *he thanked the Gods, they had now arrived to the Condition he always wished them; when every Man in that City might securely say what he pleased.* I wish these Gentlemen would however compare the Liberty they take, with what their Masters used to give: How many Messengers and Warrants would have gone out against any who durst have opened their Lips, or drawn their Pens, against the Persons and Proceedings of their *Junta's* and *Cabals*? How would their weekly Writers have been calling out for *Prosecution and Punishment*? We remember when a poor Nick-name, borrowed from an old Play of *Ben. Johnson*, and mentioned in a Sermon without any particular Application; was made use of as a Motive to spur on an Impeachment. But after all, it must be confess, they had Reasons to be thus severe, which their Successors have not: Their Faults would never endure the Light; and to have exposed them sooner, would have raised the Kingdom against the Actors, before the proper Time.

BUT, to come to the Subject I have now undertaken; which is to examine what the Consequences would be, upon Supposition that the *Whigs* were now restored to their Power. I already imagine the present free Parliament dissolved, and another of a different Epithet met, by the Force of Money and Management. I read immediately a Dozen or two stinging Votes against the Proceedings of the late

Mini-

Ministry*. The Bill now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the Birthright of an *Englishman* reduced again to the Value of Twelve-Pence. But to give the Reader a stronger Imagination of such a Scene, let me represent the Designs of some Men, lately endeavoured and projected ; in the Form of a Paper of Votes.

Ordered, *That a Bill be brought in for repealing the Sacramental Test.*

A Petition of Tindal, Collins, Clendon, Coward, Toland, in Behalf of themselves and many Hundreds of their Disciples, some of which are Members of this Honourable House, desiring, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill for qualifying Atheists, Deists, and Socinians, to serve their Country in any Employment, Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military.

Ordered, *That Leave be given to bring in a Bill according to the Prayer of the said Petition, and that Mr. Lechmere do prepare and bring it in.*

Ordered, *That a Bill be brought in for removing the Education of Youth out of the Hands of the Clergy.*

Another, *To forbid the Clergy preaching certain Duties in Religion, especially Obedience to Princes.*

Another, *to take away the Jurisdiction of Bishops.*

Another, *for constituting a General for Life ; with Instructions to the Committee, that Care may be taken to make the War last as long as the Life of the said General.*

A Bill of *Attainder against James Duke of Ormonde ; John Duke of Buckingham ; L——ce Earl of Rochester ; Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight ;*

* *A Bill for a general Naturalization.*

Robert Harley, William Shippen, Esqrs. Abigail Masham, and others, for *High Treason against the Junta.*

Resolved, *That Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, hath been a most dutiful, just, and grateful Servant to her Majesty.*

Resolved, *That to advise the Dissolution of a Whig Parliament, or the Removal of a Whig Ministry, was in order to bring in Popery and the Pretender; and that the said Advice was High Treason.*

Resolved, *That by the Original Contract the Government of this Realm is by a Junta, and a King or Queen; but the Administration solely in the Junta.*

Ordered, *That it be a standing Order of this House, that the Merit of Elections be not determined by the Number of Voices, or Right of Electors; but by Weight; and that one Whig shall weigh down ten Tories.*

A Motion being made, and the Question being put, that when a Whig is detected of manifest Bribery, and his Competitor being a Tory, hath Ten to One a Majority, there shall be a new Election; it passed in the Negative.

Resolved, *That for a King or Queen of this Realm, to Read or Examine a Paper brought them to be signed by a Junta Minister, is Arbitrary and Illegal; and a Violation of the Liberties of the People.*

THESE and the like Reformations would, in all Probability, be the First-fruits of the *Whigs* Resurrection; and what Structures such able Artists might in a short Time build upon such Foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All Hopes of a *Peace* cut off; the Nation industriously involved in

in further Debts, to a Degree, that none would dare undertake the Management of Affairs, but those whose Interest lay in ruining the Constitution. I do not see how the wisest Prince, under such Necessities, could be able to extricate himself. Then, as to the *Church*; the Bishops would by Degrees be dismissed, first from the Parliament, next from their Revenues, and at last from their Office; and the Clergy, instead of their idle Claim of *Independancy* on the State, would be forced to depend for their daily Bread on every Individual. But, what System of future Government was designed; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for Time and Incidents to mature; I shall not now *Examine*. Only upon this Occasion, I cannot help reflecting upon a Fact, which it is probable, the Reader knows as well as my self. There was a Picture drawn some Time ago, representing five Persons as large as the Life, sitting in Council together like a *Pentarchy*. A void Space was left for a Sixth, which was to have been the Queen, to whom they intended that Honour: But her Majesty having since fallen under their Displeasure, they have made a shift to crowd in *two better Friends* in Her Place, which maketh it a compleat *Heptarchy*. This Piece is now in the Country, reserved until better Times; and hangs in a Hall, among the Pictures of *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, *Ireton*, and some other Predecessors.

I MUST now desire Leave to say something to a Gentleman, who hath been pleased to publish a Discourse against a Paper of mine relating to the Convocation. He promiseth to *set me right*, without any undue Reflections or undecent Language. I suppose he means in Comparison with others, who pretend

pretend to answer the *Examiner* : So far he is right ; but if he thinks he hath behaved himself as becomes a candid Antagonist, I believe he is mistaken. He says, in his Title-Page, my *Representations are unfair, and my Reflections unjust.* And his Conclusion is yet more severe, where he *doubts I and my Friends are enraged against the Dutch, because they preserved us from Popery and Arbitrary Power at the Revolution ; and since that Time, from being over-run by the exorbitant Power of France, and becoming a Prey to the Pretender.* Because this Author seems in general to write with an honest Meaning, I would seriously put him the Question, whether he thinks, *I and my Friends are for Popery, Arbitrary Power, France and the Pretender ?* I omit other Instances of smaller Moment, which however do not suit in my Opinion with *due Reflection or decent Language.* The Fact relating to the *Convocation*, came from a good Hand, and I do not find this Author differs from me in any material Circumstance about it. My Reflections were no more than what might be obvious to any other Gentleman, who had heard of their late Proceedings. If the Notion be right which this Author gives us of a Lower House of *Convocation* ; it is a very melancholy one, and to me seems utterly inconsistent with that of a Body of Men whom he owns to have a Negative ; and therefore, since a great Majority of the Clergy differs from him in several Points he advanceth, I shall rather chuse to be of their Opinion than his. I fancy, when the *whole Synod met in one House*, as this Writer affirms, they were upon a better Foot with their Bishops ; and therefore, whether this Treatment so extremely *de haut en bas*, since their *Exclusion*, be suitable to primitive Custom

ftom or primitive Humility towards Brethren, is not my Busines to enquire. One may allow the Divine or Apostolick Right of Episcopacy, and their great Superiority over Presbyters; and yet dispute the Methods of exercising the latter, which being of Human Institution, are subject to Encroachments and Usurpations. I know, every Clergyman in a Diocesse hath a good deal of Dependance upon his Bishop, and oweth him Canonical Obedience: But, I was apt to think, that when the whole Representative of the Clergy met in a Synod, they were considered in another Light; at least since they were allowed to have a *Negative*. If I am mistaken, I desire to be excused, as talking out of my Trade: Only there is one Thing wherein I entirely differ from this Author: Since in the Disputes about Privileges *one Side must recede*; where so very few Privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the Encroachments are not on the Inferior Clergy's Side; and no Man can blame them for insisting on the small Number that is left. There is one Fact wherein I must take Occasion to set this Author right; that the * Person who first moved the QUEEN to remit the First-fruits and Tents to the Clergy, was *an eminent Instrument in the late Turn of Affairs*; and as I am told, hath lately prevailed to have the same Favour granted for the Clergy of *Ireland* †.

BUT I must beg Leave to inform this *Author*, that my Paper is not intended for the Management of Controversy; which would be of very little Import to most Readers; and only mispend Time,

* *Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer.*

† *This was done by the Author's Sollicitation.*

that

that I would gladly employ to better Purposes. For, where it is a Man's Business to entertain a whole Room full; it is unmannerly to apply himself to a particular Person, and turn his Back upon the rest of the Company.

No. 26. *Thursday, February 1, 1710.*

Ea autem est gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumq; in Rempublicam meritoriam: Quæ cum optimi cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis testimonio comprobatur.

I AM thinking, what a mighty Advantage it is to be entertained as a Writer to a *ruined Cause*. I remember a *Fanatick Preacher*, who was inclined to come into the *Church*, and take Orders; but upon mature Thoughts was diverted from that Design, when he considered that the Collections of the *Godly* were a much heartier and readier Penny, than he could get by wrangling for *Tythes*. He certainly had Reason; and the two Cases are Parallel. If you write in Defence of a fallen Party, you are maintained by Contribution as a necessary Person; you have little more to do than to carp and cavil at those who hold the Pen on the other Side; you are sure to be celebrated and careffed by all your Party to a Man. You may affirm and deny what you please, without Truth or Probability, since it is but Loss of Time to contradict you. *Commiseration* is often on your Side; and you have a Pretence to be thought honest and disinterested, for adhering to Friends in Distress. After which,

if your Friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a strong Fund of *Merit* towards making your Fortune. Then, you never fail to be well furnished with Materials; every one bringing in his *Quota*; and Falshood being naturally more plentiful than Truth. Not to mention the wonderful Delight of libelling Men in Power, and hugging yourself in a Corner with mighty Satisfaction for what you have done.

IT is quite otherwise with Us, who engage as Volunteers in the Service of a flourishing Ministry, in full Credit with the *QUEEN*, and beloved by the People; because they have no sinister Ends or dangerous Designs; but pursue with Steddiness and Resolution the true Interests of both. Upon which Account they little want or desire our Assistance; and we may write until the World is weary of reading, without having our Pretences allowed either to a *Place* or a *Pension*: Besides, we are refused the common *Benefit of the Party*, to have our Works cried up of Course; the Readers of our own Side being as ungentle and hard to please, as if we writ against them; and our Papers never make their Way in the World, but barely in Proportion to their Merit. The Design of *Their* Labours who write on the conquered Side, is likewise of greater Importance than *Ours*: They are like Cordials for dying Men, which must be repeated; whereas ours are, in the Scripture Phrase, but *Meat for Babes*: At least, all I can pretend, is to undeceive the Ignorant, and those at Distance; but their Task is to keep up the sinking Spirits of a whole Party.

AFTER such Reflections, I cannot be angry with those Gentlemen for perpetually writing against me: It furnishes them largely with Topicks; and is besides, their proper Business: Neither is it Affectation,

tion, or altogether *Scorn*, that I do not reply. But, as Things are, we both act suitably to our several Provinces: Mine is, by laying open some Corruptions in the late Management, to set those who are ignorant, right in their Opinions of Persons and Things: It is theirs to cover with *Fig-Leaves* all the Faults of their Friends, as well as they can: When I have produced my Facts, and offered my Arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their Office to deny and disprove; and then let the World decide. If *I* were as *They*, my chief Endeavour should certainly be to batter down the *Examiner*; therefore I cannot but approve their Design. Besides, they have indeed another Reason for barking incessantly at this Paper: They have in their Prints openly taxed a most ingenious Person as Author of it; one who is in great and very deserved Reputation with the World, both on Account of his Poetical Works, and his Talents for publick Busines. They were wise enough to consider, what a Sanction it would give their Performances, to fall under the Animadversion of such a Pen; and have therefore used all the Forms of Provocation commonly practised by little obscure Pedants, who are fond of distinguishing themselves by the Fame of an Adversary. So nice a Taste have these judicious Criticks, in pretending to discover an Author by his Style and Manner of Thinking: Not to mention the Justice and Candor of exhausting all the stale Topicks of Scurrility in reviling a Paper, and then flinging at a Venture the whole Load upon one who is entirely innocent; and whose greatest Fault, perhaps, is too much *Gentleness* towards a Party, from whose *Leaders* he hath received quite contrary Treatment.

THE Concern I have for the Ease and Reputation of so deserving a Gentleman, hath at length forced me, much against my Interest and Inclination, to let these angry People know who is *not* the Author of the *Examiner*. For, I observed, the Opinion began to spread ; and I chose rather to sacrifice the Honour I received by it, than let injudicious People entitle him to a Performance, that perhaps he might have Reason to be ashamed of : Still faithfully promising, never to disturb those worthy Advocates ; but suffer them in quiet to roar on at the *Examiner*, if they or their Party find any Ease in it ; as Physicians say there is, to People in Torment, such as Men in the Gout, or Women in Labour.

HOWEVER, I must acknowledge my self indebted to them for one Hint, which I shall now pursue, although in a different Manner. Since the Fall of the late Ministry, I have seen many Papers filled with their Encomiums ; I conceive, in Imitation of those who write the Lives of famous Men, where, after their Deaths, immediately follow their Characters. When I saw the poor *Virtues* thus dealt at Random, I thought the Disposers had flung their Names, like *Valentines* into a *Hat*, to be drawn as Fortune pleased, by the *Junta* and their Friends. There *Crassus* drew *Liberality* and *Gratitude* ; *Fulvia*, *Humility* and *Gentleness* ; *Clodius*, *Piety* and *Justice* ; *Gracchus*, *Loyalty* to his *Prince* ; *Cinna*, *Love of his Country and Constitution* ; and so of the rest. Or, to quit this Allegory, I have often seen of late, the whole Set of discarded Statesmen, celebrated by their judicious Hirelings, for those very Qualities which their Admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did these *Heroes* put off and lock up their

Virtues,

Virtues, when they came into Employment, and have they now resumed them since their Dismissions? If they wore them, I am sure it was *under* their *Greatness*, and without ever once convincing the World of their *Visibility* or *Influence*.

BUT, why should not the present Ministry find a Pen to praise them as well as the last? This is what I shall now undertake, and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deserved so little. I have, *without being called*, served them half a Year in Quality of *Champion*; and by Help of the Queen, and a Majority of nine in ten of the Kingdom, have been able to protect them against a routed Cabal of hated Politicians, with a dozen of Scribblers at their Head: Yet so far have they been from rewarding me suitable to my Deserts, that to this Day they never so much as sent to the *Printer* to enquire who I was; although I have known a Time and Ministry, where a Person of half my Merit and Consideration would have had fifty *Promises*; and in the mean Time a *Pension* settled on him, whereof *the first Quarter should be honestly paid*. Therefore, my Resentments shall so far prevail, that in praising those who are now at the Head of Affairs, I shall at the same Time take Notice of their Defects.

Was any Man more eminent in his Profession than the present *Lord Keeper*, or more distinguished by his Eloquence and great Abilities in the House of Commons? And, will not his Enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great Station he now adorns? But then it must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the Speculative as well as Practical Part of *Polygamy*: He knows not how to metamorphose a sober Man into a *Lunatick*: He is no *Free-thinker* in Religion, nor hath Courage to be

Patron

Patron of an Atheistical Book, while he is Guardian of the Queen's Conscience. Although, after all, to speak my private Opinion, I cannot think these such mighty Objections to his Character, as some would pretend.

THE Person who now * Presides at the Council, is descended from a Great and Honourable Father, not from the *Dregs of the People*; he was at the Head of the Treasury for some Years, and rather chose to enrich his Prince than himself. In the Height of Favour and Credit, he sacrificed the greatest Employment in the Kingdom to his *Conscience* and *Honour*: He hath been always firm in his Loyalty and Religion, zealous for supporting the Prerogative of the Crown, and preserving the Liberties of the People. But then, his best Friends must own that he is neither *Deist* nor *Socinian*: He hath never conversed with *Toland*, to open and enlarge his Thoughts, and dispel the Prejudices of Education; nor was he ever able to arrive at that Perfection of Gallantry, *to ruin and imprison the Husband, in order to keep the Wife without Disturbance*.

THE present *Lord Steward* hath been always distinguished for his Wit and Knowledge; is of consummate Wisdom and Experience in Affairs; hath continued constant to the true Interest of the Nation, which he espoused from the Beginning; and is every Way qualified to support the Dignity of his Office: But in Point of *Oratory*, must give Place to his Predecessor.

THE Duke of *Shrewsbury* was highly instrumental in bringing about the *Revolution*, in which Service he freely exposed his Life and Fortune. He hath ever been the Favourite of the Nation, being possessed of many amiable Qualities; but in the Agreeableness

* Lawrence Hyde, *Earl of Rochester*.

Agreeableness and Fragrancy of his Person, and the Profoundness of his Politicks, must be allowed to fall very short of —

MR. *Harley* had the Honour of being chosen Speaker successively to three Parliaments; he was the first of late Years, who ventured to restore the forgotten Custom of treating his PRINCE with *Duty* and *Respect*. Easy and disengaged in private Conversation, with such a Weight of Affairs upon his Shoulders; of great Learning, and as great a Favourer and Protector of it; intrepid by Nature, as well as by the Consciousness of his own Integrity; and a Despiser of Money; pursuing the true Interest of his PRINCE and Country against all Obstacles. Sagacious to view into the remotest Consequences of Things, by which all Difficulties fly before him. A firm Friend, and a placable Enemy, sacrificing his justest Resentments, not only to publick Good, but to common Intercession and Acknowledgment. Yet, with all these Virtues, it must be granted, there is some Mixture of Human Infirmity: His greatest Admirers must confess his Skill at *Cards* and *Dice* to be very low and superficial: In *Horse-Racing* he is utterly ignorant: Then, to save a few Millions to the Publick, he never regards how many worthy *Citizens* he hinders from making up their Plumb. And surely there is one Thing never to be forgiven him; that he delights to have his Table filled with *Black-coats*, whom he useth as if they were *Gentlemen*.

MR. *Lord D*—— is a Man of Letters, full of good Sense, good Nature and Honour, of strict Virtue and Regularity in his Life; but labours under one great Defect, that he treats his Clerks with more Civility and good Manners, than others in his Station, have done the QUEEN.

OMMITTIN~~E~~

OMITTING some others, I will close this Character of the present *Ministry*, with that of Mr. *St. John*, who, from his Youth applying those admirable Talents of Nature, and Improvements of Art to publick Busines, grew eminent in Court and Parliament, at an Age when the Generality of Mankind is employed in Trifles and Folly. It is to be lamented, that he hath not yet procured himself a *busy, important Countenance*, nor learned that profound Part of Wisdom, to be *difficult of Access*. Besides, he hath clearly mistaken the true Use of *Books*, which he has thumbed and spoiled with Reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his Shelves: Not like a great Man of my Acquaintance, who knew a Book by the Back, better than a Friend by the Face, although he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter.

No. 27. *Thursday, February 8, 1710.*

Caput est in omni procuratione negotii & munéris publici, ut avaritiae pellatur etiam minima suspicio.

THERE is no Vice which Mankind carries to such wild Extreams as that of *Avarice*: Those two which seem to rival it in this Point, are Lust and Ambition: But, the former is checkt by Difficulties and Disease; destroys itself by its own Pursuits, and usually declines with old Age: And the latter, requiring Courage, Conduct, and Fortune in a high Degree, and meeting with a thousand Dangers and Oppositions, succeeds too seldom in

an

an Age to fall under common Observation. Or, is Avarice perhaps the same Passion with Ambition, only placed in more ignoble and daftardly Minds; by which the Object is changed from *Power* to *Money*? Or, it may be, that one Man pursues Power in order to Wealth; and another Wealth, in order to Power; which last is the safer Way, although longer about; and, suiting with every Period, as well as Condition of Life, is more generally followed.

HOWEVER it be, the Extreams of this Passion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a Degree so absurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their Frequency, they could hardly obtain Belief. The *Stage*, which carries other Follies and Vices beyond Nature and Probability, falls very short in the Representations of *Avarice*; nor are there any Extravagances in this Kind described by ancient or modern Comedies, which are not outdone by an hundred Instances, commonly told, among our selves.

I AM ready to conclude from hence, that a Vice which keeps so firm a Hold upon human Nature, and governs it with so unlimited a Tyranny; since it cannot be wholly eradicated, ought at least to be confined to particular Objects; to Thirst and Penury, to private Fraud and Extortion, and never suffered to prey upon the Publick; and should certainly be rejected as the most unqualifying Circumstance for any Employment, where Bribery and Corruption can possibly enter.

IF the Mischiefs of this Vice, in a publick Station, were confined to enriching only those particular Persons employed; the Evil would be more supportable: But it is usually quite otherwise. When a *Steward* defrauds his *Lord*, he must con-nive

nive at the *rest of the Servants*, while they are following the same Practice in their several Spheres; so that in some Families you may observe a Subordination of Knaves in a Link downwards to the very *Helper* in the Stables, all cheating by Concert, and with Impunity. And, even if this were all, perhaps the Master could bear it without being undone; but it so happens, that for every Shilling the Servant gets by his Iniquity, the Master loseth twenty; the Perquisites of Servants being but small Compositions for suffering Shop-keepers to bring in what Bills they please. It is exactly the same Thing in a State: An avaricious Man in Office is in Confederacy with the whole *Clan* of his District or Dependance, which in modern Terms of Art is called, *To Live, and let Live*; and yet their Gains are the smallest Part of the Publick's Loss. Give a Guinea to a knavish *Land-waiter*, and he shall connive at the Merchant for cheating the *QUEEN* of an Hundred. A *Brewer* gives a Bribe to have the Privilege of selling Drink to the *Navy*; but the Fraud is a hundred Times greater than the Bribe; and the Publick is at the whole Loss.

MORALISTS make two Kinds of Avarice; That of *Cataline, alieni appetens, sui profusus*; and the other more generally understood by that Name; which is, the endless Desire of Hoarding: But I take the former to be more dangerous in a State, because it mingles well with Ambition, which I think the latter cannot; for, although the same Breast may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them; and where the Love of heaping Wealth prevails, there is not, in my Opinion, much to be apprehended from Ambition. The Disgrace of that fordid Vice is sooner apt to spread than any other; and is always attended with the

the Hatred and Scorn of the People: So that whenever those two Passions happen to meet in the same Subject; it is not unlikely, that Providence hath placed *Avarice* to be a Check upon *Ambition*; and I have Reason to think, *some great Ministers of State* have been of my Opinion.

THE Divine Authority of Holy Writ, the Precepts of Philosophers, the Lashes and Ridicule of Satirical Poets, have been all employed in exploding this insatiable Thirst of Money; and all equally controuled by the daily Practice of Mankind. Nothing new remains to be said upon the Occasion; and if there did, I must remember my Character, that I am an *Examiner* only, and not a *Reformer*.

HOWEVER, in those Cases where the Frailties of particular Men do nearly affect the publick Welfare, such as a Prime Minister of State, or a great General of an Army; methinks there should be some Expedient contrived, to let them know impartially what is the World's Opinion in the Point: Encompassed with a Crowd of depending Flatterers, they are many Degrees blinder to their own Faults than the common Infirmities of human Nature can plead in their Excuse; Advice dares not be offered, or is wholly lost, or returned with Hatred: And whatever appears in Publick against their prevailing Vice, goes for nothing; being either not applied, or passing only for Libel and Slander, proceeding from the Malice and Envy of a Party.

I HAVE sometimes thought, that if I had lived at *Rome* in the Time of the first *Triumvirate*, I should have been tempted to write a Letter, as from an unknown Hand, to those three great Men, who had then usurped the Sovereign Power; wherein I would freely and sincerely tell each of them that Fault which I conceived was most odious, and of worst

worst Consequence to the Commonwealth: That, to *Crassus*, should have been sent to him after his Conquests in *Mesopotamia*, and in the following Terms.

To MARCUS CRASSUS, Health:

IF you apply as you ought, what I now write, you will be more obliged to me than to all the World, hardly excepting your Parents, or your Country. I intend to tell you, without Disguise or Prejudice, the Opinion which the World hath entertained of you. And, to let you see I write this without any Sort of ill Will, you shall first hear the Sentiments they have to your Advantage. No Man disputes the Gracefulness of your Person; you are allowed to have a good and clear Understanding, cultivated by the Knowledge of Men and Manners, although not by Literature. You are no ill Orator in the Senate; you are said to excel in the Art of bridling and subduing your Anger, and stifling or concealing your Resentments; you have been a most successful General, of long Experience, great Conduct, and much Personal Courage; you have gained many important Victories for the Commonwealth, and forced the strongest Towns in Mesopotamia to surrender; for which, frequent Supplications have been decreed by the Senate. Yet with all these Qualities, and this Merit, give me Leave to say, you are neither beloved by the Patricians or Plebeians at home, nor by the Officers or private Soldiers of your own Army abroad. And, do you know CRASSUS, that this is owing to a Fault, of which you may cure yourself by one Minute's Reflection? What shall I say? You are the richest Person in the Commonwealth; you have no Male Child, your Daughters are all married to wealthy Patricians; you are far in the Decline of Life; and yet

yet you are deeply stained with that odious and ignoble Vice of Covetousness. It is affirmed, that you descend even to the meanest and most scandalous Degrees of it ; and while you possess so many Million ; while you are acquiring so many more, you are solicitous how to save a single Sesterce, of which a hundred ignominious Instances are produced, and in all Mens Mouths. I will only mention that Passage of the * Buskins, which after abundance of Persuasion, you would hardly suffer to be cut from your Legs, when they were so wet and cold, that to have kept them on, would have endangered your Life.

Instead of using the common Arguments to dissuade you from this Weakness, I will endeavour to convince you, that you are really guilty of it ; and leave the Cure to your own good Sense. For, perhaps, you are not yet perswaded that this is your Crime ; you have probably never yet been reproached for it to your Face ; and what you are now told, comes from one unknown, and it may be from an Enemy. You will allow your self indeed to be prudent in the Management of your Fortune ; you are not a Prodigal, like Clodius or Cataline, but surely that deserveth not the Name of Avarice. I will inform you how to be convinced. Disguise your Person ; go among the common People in Rome ; introduce Discourses about your self ; inquire your own Character ; do the same in your Camp, walk about it in the Evening, bearken at every Tent ; and, if you do not hear every Mouth Censuring, Lamenting, Cursing this Vice in you, and even you for this Vice ; conclude your self innocent. If you be not yet perswaded ; send for Atticus, Servius Sulpicius, Cato, or Brutus ; they are all your Friends ; conjure them to tell you ingenuously which is your great Fault, and which

* Wet Stockings.

which they would chiefly wish you to correct ; if they do not agree in their Verdict, in the Name of all the Gods, you are acquitted.

When your Adversaries reflect how far you are gone in this Vice, they are tempted to talk as if we owed our Successes, not to your Courage or Conduct, but to those Veteran Troops you command ; who are able to conquer under any General, and so many brave and experienced Officers to lead them. Besides, we know the Consequences your Avarice hath often occasioned. The Soldier hath been starving for Bread, surrounded with Plenty, and in an Enemies Country, but all under Safeguards and Contributions ; which, if you had sometimes pleased to have exchanged for Provisions, might, at the Expence of a few Talents in a Campaign, have so endeared you to the Army, that they would have desired you to lead them to the utmost Limits of Asia. But you rather chose to confine your Conquests within the fruitful Country of Mesopotamia, where Plenty of Money might be raised. How far that fatal Greediness of Gold may have influenced you, in breaking off the Treaty with the old Parthian King Orodes, you best can tell ; your Enemies charge you with it ; your Friends offer nothing material in your Defence ; and all agree, there is nothing so pernicious, which the Extreams of Avarice may not be able to inspire.

The Moment you quit this Vice, you will be a truly Great Man ; and still there will Imperfections enough remain to convince us, you are not a God. Farewel.

PERHAPS a Letter of this Nature sent to so reasonable a Man as *Crassus*, might have put him upon Examining into himself, and correcting that little sordid Appetite, so utterly inconsistent with all Pretences

tences to a *Hero*. A Youth in the Heat of Blood may plead with some Show of Reason, that he is not able to subdue his Lusts: An ambitious Man may use the same Arguments for his Love of Power, or perhaps other Arguments to justify it. But, Excesses of Avarice hath neither of these Pleas to offer; it is not to be justified, and cannot pretend Temptation for Excuse? Whence can the Temptation come? Reason disclaims it altogether; and it cannot be said to lodge in the *Blood*, or the *Animal Spirits*. So that I conclude, *No Man of true Valour and true Understanding, upon whom this Vice hath stolen unawares; when he is convinced he is guilty, will suffer it to remain in his Breast an Hour.*

No. 28. *Thursday, February 15, 1710.*

Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia?

An Answer to the Letter to the EXAMINER.

SIR, *London, Feb. 15, 1710-11.*

ALTHOUGH I have wanted Leisure to acknowledge the Honour of a Letter you were pleased to write to me about six Months ago; yet I have been very careful in obeying some of your Commands; and am going on as fast as I can with the rest. I wish you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private Hand than that of the *Printing-House*: For, although I was pleased with a Pattern of Style and Spirit

Spirit which I proposed to imitate ; yet I was sorry the World should be a Witness how far I fell short in both.

I AM afraid you did not consider what an abundance of Work you have cut out for me ; neither am I at all comforted by the Promise you are so kind to make, that when *I have performed my Task, D—n shall blush in his Grave among the Dead, W—e among the Living, and even Vol—e shall feel some Remorse.* How the Gentleman in *his Grave*, may have kept his Countenance, I cannot inform you, having no Acquaintance at all with the Sexton : But for the *other two*, I take leave to assure you, there have not yet appeared the least Signs of *Blushing* or *Remorse* in either, although *some very good Opportunities* have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them : So that with your Permission, I had rather engage to continue this Work until *they be in their Graves* too ; which I am sure, will happen much sooner than the other.

You desire I would collect *some of those Indignities offered last Year to her Majesty.* I am ready to oblige you ; and have got a pretty tolerable Collection by me, which I am in doubt, whether to publish by it self in a *large Volume in Folio*, or scatter them here and there occasionally in my Papers. Although indeed, I am sometimes thinking to stifle them altogether ; because such a History will be apt to give Foreigners a monstrous Opinion of our Country. But, since it is your absolute Opinion, that the World should be informed ; I will, with the first Occasion, pick out a few *choice Instances*, and let them take their Chance in the ensuing Papers. I have also in my Cabinet certain *Quires of Paper* filled with Facts of Corruption, Mismanagement, Cowardice, Treachery, Avarice, Ambition,

Ambition, and the like ; with an Alphabetical Table, to save Trouble. And, perhaps, you will not wonder at the Care I take to be so well provided, when you consider the vast Expence I am at : I feed, weekly, two or three *Wit-starved* Writers, who have no other visible Support ; besides several others, who live upon my Offals. In short, I am like a Nurse who suckles Twins at one Time, and hath besides, *one or two Whelps* constantly to draw her Breasts.

I MUST needs confess, (and it is with Grief I speak it) that I have been the innocent Cause of a great Circulation of Dulness : At the same Time, I have often wondered how it hath come to pass, that these industrious People, after poring so constantly upon the *Examiner*, a Paper writ with plain Sense and in a tolerable Style ; have made so little Improvement. I am sure it would have fallen out quite otherwise with me : For, by what I have seen of their Performances (and I am credibly informed they are all of a Piece) if I had perused them until now, I should have been fit for little but to make an Advocate in the same Cause.

You, Sir, perhaps will wonder, as most others do, what End these angry Folks propose, in writing perpetually against the *Examiner* : It is not to beget a better Opinion of the late Ministry, or with any Hope to convince the World that I am in the Wrong in any one Fact I relate ; they know all that to be lost Labour ; and yet their Design is important enough : They would fain provoke me by all Sorts of Methods, within the Length of their Capacity, to answer their Papers ; which would render mine wholly useless to the Publick : For, if it once came to Rejoinder and Reply, we should be all upon a Level ; and then their Work would be done.

THERE is one * Gentleman indeed, who hath written three small Pamphlets upon the *Management of the War*, and the *Treaty of Peace*: These I had intended to have bestowed a Paper in *Examining*; and could easily have made it appear, that whatever he says of Truth, relates nothing at all to the Evils we complain of, or controuls one Syllable of what I have ever advanced. No Body, that I know of, did ever dispute the Duke of *Marlborough's* Courage, Conduct, or Success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so, in spight of the Malice of his Enemies, or, which is yet more, the *Weakness of his Advocates*. The Nation only wished to see him taken out of ill Hands, and put into better. But, what is all this to the Conduct of the late Ministry, the shameful Mismanagements in *Spain*, or the wrong Steps in the *Treaty of Peace*; the Secret of which will not bear the Light, and is consequently by this Author very poorly defended? These, and many other Things, I would have shewn; but upon second Thoughts determined to have done it in a Discourse by itself, rather than take up room here, and break into the Design of this Paper, from whence I have resolved to banish Controversy as much as possible. But, the Postscript to his third Pamphlet was enough to disgust me from having any Dealings at all with such a Writer; unless that Part was left to some *Footman* he had picked up among the Boys who follow the Camp, whose Character it would suit much better than that of the supposed Author. At least, the foul Language, the idle impotent Menace, and the gross perverting of an innocent Expression in the fourth *Examiner*; joined to that Respect I

* Dr. Hare, now a Bishop.

shall ever have for the Function of a *Divine*, would incline me to believe so. But when he turns off his *Footman*, and disclaims that *Postscript*, I will tear it out, and see how far the rest deserves to be considered.

BUT, Sir, I labour under a much greater Difficulty, upon which I should be glad to hear your Advice. I am worried on one Side by the *Whigs* for being too *severe*; and by the *Tories* on the other for being too *gentle*. I have formerly hinted a Complaint of this; but having lately received two peculiar Letters, among many others; I thought nothing could better represent my Condition, or the Opinion which the warm Men of both Sides have of my Conduct, than to send you a Transcript of each. The former is exactly in these Words.

To the EXAMINER.

Mr. *Examiner*,

BY your continual reflecting upon the Conduct of the late Ministry, and by your Encomiums on the present, it is *as clear as the Sun at Noon-Day*, that you are a *Jesuit* or *Nonjuror*, employed by the Friends of the *Pretender*, to endeavour to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery*, and *Arbitrary Power*, and to infringe the sacred Act for *Toleration of Dissenters*. Now, Sir, since *the most ingenious Authors* who write weekly against you, are not able to teach you better Manners, I would have you to know, that those Great and excellent Men, as low as you think them at present, do not want Friends that will take the first proper Occasion to *cut your Throat*, as all such Enemies to *Moderation* ought to be served. It is well

• you have cleared another Person from being Au-
 • thor of your cursed Libels ; although D-mme,
 • perhaps after all, that may be a *Bamboozle* too.
 • However, I hope we shall soon Ferrit you out.
 • Therefore, I advise you as a Friend, to let fall
 • your Pen, and retire betimes ; for our Patience is
 • now at an End. It is enough to lose our Power and
 • Employments, without setting the whole Nation
 • against us. Consider three Years is the Life of
 • a *Party* ; and D--mme, *every Dog bath his Day*,
 • and it will be our Turn next ; therefore, take
 • Warning, and learn to *sleep in a whole Skin*, or
 • whenever we are uppermost, by G--d you shall
 • find no Mercy.

The other Letter was in the following Terms.

To the EXAMINER.

S I R,

• I AM a *Country Member*, and constantly send a
 • Dozen of your Papers down to my *Electors*.
 • I have read them all, but I confess, not with the
 • Satisfaction I expected. It is plain, you know a
 • great deal more than you write ; why will you
 • not let us have it all out ? We are told, that the
 • QUEEN hath been a long Time treated with Infor-
 • lence by those she hath most obliged : Pray, Sir,
 • let us have a few good Stories upon that Head.
 • We have been cheated of several Millions ; why
 • will not you set a Mark on the Knaves who are
 • guilty, and shew us what Ways they took to rob
 • the Publick at such a Rate ? Inform us how we
 • came to be disappointed of Peace about two
 • Years ago : In short, turn the whole Mystery

• of

‘ of Iniquity inside out, that every Body may have
‘ a View of it. But above all, explain to us, what
‘ was at the Bottom of that same *Impeachment* : I
‘ am sure I never liked it ; for, at that very Time
‘ a *Dissenting* Preacher in our Neighbourhood, came
‘ often to see our Parson ; it could be for no Good,
‘ for he would walk about the Barns and the Sta-
‘ bles, and desire to look into the Church, as *who*
‘ *should say*, *These will shortly be mine* ; and we all
‘ believed he was then contriving some Alterations
‘ against he got into Possession : And I shall never
‘ forget, that a *Whig Justice* offered me then very
‘ high for my *Bishop’s Lease*. I must be so bold
‘ to tell you, Sir, that you are too favourable : I
‘ am sure, there was no living in Quiet for us while
‘ they were in the *Saddle*. I was turned out of the
‘ Commission, and called a *Jacobite*, although it
‘ cost me a thousand Pound in joining with the
‘ Prince of *Orange* at the *Revolution*. The Discov-
‘ eries I would have you make, are of some Facts
‘ for which they ought to be hanged ; not that I
‘ value their Heads, but I would see them *exposed*,
‘ which may be done upon the *Owners Shoulders*,
‘ as well as upon a *Pole*, &c.

THESE, Sir, are the Sentiments of a whole Party on one Side, and of considerable Numbers on the other : However, taking the Medium between these Extreams, I think to go on as I have hitherto done, although I am sensible my Paper would be more popular, if I did not lean too much to the favourable Side. For, nothing delights the People more than to see their Oppressors humbled, and all their Actions painted with proper Colours, set out in open View. *Exactos Tyrannos densum humeris bibt aure vulgus.*

BUT

BUT as for the *Whigs*, I am in some doubt, whether this mighty Concern they shew for the Honour of the late Ministry, may not be affected; at least whether their Masters will thank them for their Zeal in such a Cause. It is, I think, a known Story of a Gentleman who fought another for calling him *Son of a Whore*; but his Mother desired her Son to make no more Quarrels upon that Subject, *because it was true*. For pray, Sir, doth it not look like a Jeſt, that such a pernicious Crew, after draining our Wealth, and discovering the most deſtructive Deſigns against our Church and State; instead of thanking Fortune that they are got off ſafe in their Persons and Plunder, ſhould hire these Bullies of the Pen to defend their Reputations? I remember, I thought it the hardest Case in the World, when a poor Acquaintance of mine, having fallen among Sharpers, where he lost all his Money, and then complaining he was cheated; got a good Beating into the Bargain, *for offering to affront Gentlemen*. I believe, the only Reaſon why these Purloiners of the Publick cause ſuch a Clutter to be made about their Reputations, is to prevent Inquisitions that might tend towards making them refund: Like those Women they call *Shop-Lifters*, who when they are challenged for their Thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted, for Fear of being ſearched.

I WILL dismiss you, Sir, when I have taken Notice of one Particular. Perhaps you may have obſerved in the tolerated factious Papers of the Week, that the Earl of Rochester is frequently reflected on for having been *Ecclesiastical Commissioner* and *Lord Treasurer* in the Reign of the late King *James*. The Fact is true; and it will not be denied to his immortal Honour, that because

because he could not comply with the Measures then taking, he resigned both those Employments ; of which the latter was immediately supplied by a Commission, composed of two Popish Lords and the present Earl of *Godolphin*.

No. 29. *Thursday, February 22, 1710.*

Laus summa in fortunæ bonis, non extulisse se in Potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se prætulisse aliis propter abundantiam fortune.

I AM conscious to my self, that I write this Paper with no other Intention but that of doing good : I never received Injury from the late Ministry ; nor Advantage from the Present, farther than in common with every good Subject. There were among the former one or two, who must be allowed to have possessed very valuable Qualities ; but proceeding by a System of Politicks, which our Constitution could not suffer ; and discovering a Contempt of all Religion, especially of that which hath been so happily established among us ever since the Reformation ; they seem to have been justly suspected of no very good Inclinations to either.

IT is possible, that a Man may speculatively prefer the Constitution of another Country, or an *Utopia* of his own, before that of the Nation where he is born and lives ; yet from considering the Dangers of Innovation, the Corruptions of Mankind, and the frequent Impossibility of reducing Ideas to Practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present Order of Things, and be a true Friend to the Government

Government already settled. So in Religion ; a Man may perhaps have little or none of it at Heart ; yet if he conceal his Opinions, if he endeavour to make no Profelytes, advance no impious Tenets in Writing or Discourse : If, according to the common atheistical Notion, he believes Religion to be only a Contrivance of Politicians for keeping the Vulgar in Awe ; and that the present Model is better adjusted than any other to so useful an End : Although the Condition of such a Man as to his own future State be very deplorable ; yet Providence, which often works Good out of Evil, can make even such a Man an Instrument for contributing towards the Preservation of the Church.

ON the other Side ; I take a State to be truly in danger, both as to its Religion and Government, when a Sett of ambitious Politicians, bred up in a Hatred to the Constitution, and a Contempt for all Religion, are forced upon exerting these Qualities in order to keep or increase their Power, by widening their Bottom, and taking in (like *Mahomet*) some Principles from every Party, that is any way discontented at the present Faith and Settlement ; which was manifestly our Case. Upon this Occasion, I remember to have asked some considerable Whigs, whether it did not bring a Disreputation upon their Body, to have the whole Herd of Presbyterians, Independants, Atheists, Anabaptists, Deists, Quakers and Socinians, openly and universally listed under their Banners ? They answered, That all this was absolutely necessary, in order to make a Ballance against the *Tories* ; and all little enough : For indeed, it was as much as they could possibly do, although assisted with the absolute Power of disposing every Employment ; while the Bulk

Bulk of *English* Gentry kept firm to their old Principles in Church and State.

BUT, notwithstanding whatever I have hitherto said, I am informed, several among the *Whigs* continue still so refractory, that they will hardly allow the Heads of their Party to have entertained any Designs of ruining the Constitution; or that they would have endeavoured it, if they had continued in Power. I beg their Pardon if I have discovered a Secret; but who could imagine they ever intended it should be One, after those *Overt-Acts* with which they thought fit to conclude their *Farce*? But perhaps they *now* find it convenient to deny vigorously; that the Question may remain; *Why was the old Ministry changed?* Which they urge on without ceasing, as if no Occasion in the least had been given; but that all were owing to the Insinuations of crafty Men, practising upon the Weakness of an easy Prince. I shall therefore offer, among a hundred, one Reason for this Change, which I think would justify any Monarch who ever reigned, for the like Proceeding.

IT is notorious enough, how highly Princes have been blamed in the Histories of all Countries, particularly of our own, upon the Account of their *Minions*; who have been ever justly odious to the People, for their Insolence and Avarice, and engrossing the Favour of their Masters. Whoever hath been the least conversant in the *English* Story, cannot but have heard of *Gaveston*, the *Spencers*, and some others; who by the Excess and Abuse of their Power, cost the Princes they served, or rather governed, their Crowns and Lives. However, in the Case of *Minions*, it must at least be acknowledged, that the Prince is pleased and happy, although his Subjects be aggrieved; and he has the

Plea

Plea of Friendship to excuse him ; which is a Disposition of generous Minds. Besides, a wise *Mission*, altho' he be haughty to others, is humble and insinuating to his Master ; and cultivates his Favour by Obedience and Respect. But, *Our Misfortune* hath been a great deal worse : We have suffered for some Years under the Oppression, the Avarice, and Insolence of those, for whom the *QUEEN* had neither Esteem nor Friendship ; who rather seemed to snatch their own Dues, than receive the Favour of their Sovereign ; and were so far from returning Respect, that they forgot common good Manners. They imposed on their Prince, by urging the Necessity of Affairs of their own creating : They first raised Difficulties, and then offered them as Arguments to keep themselves in Power. They united themselves against Nature and Principle, to a Party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any Terms, leaving Them and their Creatures in full Possession of the Court. Then they urged the formidable Strength of that Party, and the Dangers which must follow by disobliging it. So that it seems, almost a Miracle, how a Prince, thus besieged on all Sides, could *alone* have Courage and Prudence enough to extricate Herself.

AND indeed there is a Point of History relating to this Matter, which well deserveth to be considered. When Her Majesty came to the Crown, she took into Favour and Employment several Persons who were esteemed the best Friends of the old Constitution ; among whom none were reckoned further gone in the *High Church* Principles (as they are usually called) than two or three, who had at that Time most Credit ; and ever since, until within these few Months, possessed all Power

at

at Court. So that the first Umbrage given to the Whigs, and the Pretences for clamouring against *France* and the *Pretender*, were derived from Them. And I believe nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that such different Opinions should ever incorporate ; that Party having upon former Occasions treated those very Persons with Enmity enough. But some Lords then about Court, and in the *QUEEN's* good Graces, not able to endure those growing Impositions upon the Prince and People, presumed to interpose ; and were consequently soon removed and disgraced : However, when a most exorbitant Grant was proposed, antecedent to any visible Merit ; it miscarried in Parliament, for want of being seconded by those who had most Credit in the House ; and, who having always opposed the like Excesses in a former Reign, thought it their Duty to do so still ; to shew the World, that the Dislike was not against Persons but Things. But this was to cross the *Oligarchy* in the tendereft Point ; a Point which outweighed all Considerations of Duty and Gratitude to their Prince, or Regard to the Constitution : And therefore, after having in several private Meetings concerted Measures with their old Enemies, and granted as well as received Conditions ; they began to change their Style and their Countenence, and to put it as a Maxim in the Mouths of their Emissaries ; That *England must be saved by Whigs*. This unnatural League was afterwards cultivated by another Incident ; I mean the *Act of Security*, and the Consequences of it, which every Body knows ; when (to use the Words of my Correspondent) *the Sovereign Authority was parcelled out among the Faction, and made the Purchase of Indemnity for an offending*

Letter to the
Examiner.

offending Minister: Thus, the Union of the two Kingdoms improved That between the Ministry and the *Junta*, which was afterwards cemented by their mutual Danger in that Storm they so narrowly escaped about three Years ago ; but however was not quite perfected till Prince *George's* Death ; and then they went lovingly on together, both satisfied with their several Shares, at full Liberty to gratify their predominant Inclinations ; the first, their Avarice and Ambition ; the other, their Models of Innovation in Church and State.

THEREFORE, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled Question, *Why was the late Ministry changed?* may receive the following Answer : That it was become necessary by the Insolence and Avarice of some about the *QUEEN*, who, in order to perpetuate their Tyranny, had made a monstrous Alliance with those who profess Principles destructive to our Religion and Government : If this will not suffice ; let him make an Abstract of all the Abuses I have mentioned in my former Papers, and view them together ; after which, if he still remain unsatisfied, let him suspend his Opinion a few Weeks longer. Although after all, I think the Question as trifling as that of the Papists, when they ask us, *Where was our Religion before Luther?* And indeed, the Ministry was changed for the same Reason that Religion was reformed ; because a thousand Corruptions had crept into the *Discipline* and *Doctrine* of the *State*, by the Pride, the Avarice, the Fraud, and the Ambition of those *who administered to us in Secular Affairs*.

I HEARD my self censured the other Day in a Coffee-House, for seeming to glance in the Letter to *Craffus*, against a great Man, who is still in Employment, and likely to continue so. What if I had

had really intended that such an Application should be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be justly blamed for so gentle a Reprof. If I saw a handsome young Fellow going to a Ball at Court with a great *Smut* upon his Face; could he take it ill in me to point out the Place, and desire him with abundance of good Words to pull out his Handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a Glass where he might plainly see it with his own Eyes? Doth any Man think I shall suffer my Pen to inveigh against Vices, only because they are charged upon Persons who are no longer in Power? Every Body knows, that certain Vices are more or less pernicious, according to the Stations of those who possess them. For Example, Lewdness and Intemperance are not of so bad Consequences in a Town-Rake as in a Divine. Cowardice in a Lawyer is more supportable than in an Officer of the Army. If I should find Fault with an Admiral because he wanted *Politeness*; or an Alderman for not understanding *Greek*; That, indeed would be to go out of my Way for an Occasion of *Quarrelling*: But excessive Avarice in a General, is, I think, the greatest Defect he can be liable to, next to those of Courage and Conduct, and may be attended with the most ruinous Consequences, as it was in *Crassus*; who to that Vice alone owed the Destruction of himself and his Army. It is the same Thing in praising Mens Excellencies; which are more or less valuable, as the Person you commend hath occasion to employ them. A Man may perhaps mean honestly; yet if he be not able to spell, he shall never have my Vote to be a Secretary: Another may have Wit and Learning in a Post where Honesty, with plain common Sense, are of much more Use: You may praise a Soldier for his Skill at *Chess*, because it is said to be a Military

tary Game, and the Emblem of drawing up an Army; but this to a Treasurer would be no more a Compliment, than if you called him a *Gamester* or a *Jockey*.

P. S. I received a Letter relating to Mr. *Green-shields*, the Person who sent it may know, that I will say something to it in the next Paper.

No. 30. Thursday, March 1, 1710.

*Quæ enim domus tam Stablis, quæ tam firma civitas
est, quæ non odiis atque discidiis funditus posse
averti?*

IF we examine what Societies of Men are in closest Union among themselves; we shall find them either to be those who are engaged in some evil Design, or who labour under one common Misfortune: Thus the Troops of *Banditti* in several Countries abroad; the Knots of *Highwaymen* in our own Nation; the several Tribes of *Sharpers*, *Thieves* and *Pick-pockets*, with many others, are so firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or dissolve their several *Gangs*. So likewise, those who are Fellow-Sufferers under any Misfortune, whether it be in Reality or Opinion, are usually contracted into a very strict Union; as we may observe in the *Papists* throughout this Kingdom, under those real Difficulties which are justly put on them; and in the several Schisms of *Presbyterians*, and other Sects, under that grievous Persecution of the modern Kind, called *Want of Power*. And the Reason why such Confederacies are kept

so sacred and inviolable, is very plain; because in each of those Cases I have mentioned, the whole Body is moved by one common Spirit, in pursuit of one general End, and the Interest of Individuals is not crossed by each other, or by the whole.

Now both these Motives are joined to unite the *High-flying Whigs* at present: They have been always engaged in an *evil Design*, and of late they are faster rivetted by that terrible Calamity, the Loss of Power. So that whatever Designs a mischievous Crew of dark Confederates may possibly entertain, who will stop at no Means to compass them, may be justly apprehended from these.

ON the other Side, those who wish well to the Publick, and would gladly contribute to its Service, are apt to differ in their Opinions about the Methods of promoting it; and when their Party flourishes, are sometimes envious at those in Power; ready to over-value their own Merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the Measure they have prescribed for themselves. There is a further Topick of Contention, which a Ruling Party is apt to fall into, in Relation to *Retrospections*, and Enquiry into past Miscarriages; wherein *some* are thought too warm and zealous; *others* too cruel and remiss; while in the mean Time these Divisions are industriously fomented by the discarded Faction; which, although it be an old Practice, hath been much improved in the Schools of the *Jesuits*; who when they despaired of perverting this Nation to *Popery*, by Arguments or Plots against the State, sent their Emissaries to subdivide us into Schisms. And this Expedient is now with great Propriety taken up by our Men of *incensed Moderation*; because they suppose themselves able to attack the strongest of our Subdivisions, and so subdue us one

after

after another. Nothing better resembles this Proceeding, than that famous Combat between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*; where two of the former being killed, the third who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded Adversaries, after he had divided them by a Stratagem. I well know with how tender a Hand all this should be touched; yet, at the same Time, I think it my Duty to *warn* the Friends, as well as *expose* the Enemies, of the Publick Weal; and to begin preaching up Union upon the first Suspicion that any Steps are made to disturb it.

But the two chief Subjects of Discontent, which, upon most great Changes, in the Management of publick Affairs, are apt to breed Differences among those who are in Possession, are what I have just now mentioned; a Desire of punishing the Corruptions of former Managers; and the rewarding *Merit*, among those who have been any Way instrumental or consenting to the Change. The first of these is a Point so nice, that I shall purposely wave it. But the latter I take to fall properly within my District: By *Merit* I here understand that Value which every Man puts upon his own Deservings from the Publick. And, I believe, there could not be a more difficult Employment found out, than that of *Pay-Master-General* to this Sort of *Merit*; or a more noisy, crowded Place, than a Court of *Judicature*, erected to settle and adjust every Man's Claim upon that Article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the Fancy of the ancient Poets, they would have dress'd it up after their Manner, into an agreeable Fiction; and given us a Genealogy and Description of *Merit*, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A Poetical Genealogy and Description of MERIT.

THAT, *true Merit*, was the Son of *Virtue* and *Honour*; but that there was likewise a spurious Child who usurped the Name, and whose Parents were *Vanity* and *Impudence*. That, at a Distance there was a great Resemblance between them, and they were often mistaken for each other. That, the *Bastard Issue* had a *loud shrill Voice*, which was perpetually employed in *Cravings* and *Complaints*; while the other never spoke louder than a *Whisper*; and was often so bashful, that he could not speak at all. That, in great Assemblies, the *false Merit* would step before the *true*, and stand just in his Way; was constantly at Court, or great Mens *Levees*, or whispering in some Minister's Ear. That, the more you fed him, the more hungry and importunate he grew. That, he often passed for the *true Son of Virtue* and *Honour*; and the *Genuine* for an *Impostor*. That, he was born distorted and a *Dwarf*, but by Force of Art appeared of a handsome Shape, and taller than the usual Size; and that none but those who were wise and good, as well as vigilant, could discover his *Littleness* or *Deformity*. That, the *true Merit* had been often forced to the *Indignity* of applying to the *false*, for his Credit with those in Power, and to keep himself from Starving. That, the *false Merit* filled the *Anti-chambers* with a Crew of his *Dependants* and *Creatures*, such as *Projectors*, *Schematis*, *Occasional Converts to a Party*, *prostitute Flatterers*, *starveling-Writers*, *Buffoons*, *shallow Politicians*, *empty Orators*, and the like; who all owned him for their *Patron*, and grew discontented if they were not immediately fed.

THIS metaphorical Description of *false Merit*, is, I doubt, calculated for most Countries in Christendom ; and as to our own, I believe it may be said, with a sufficient Reserve of Charity, that we are fully able to reward every Man among us according to his real Deservings. And, I think I may add, without Suspicion of Flattery, that never any Prince had a Ministry with a better Judgment to distinguish between *false* and *real Merit*, than that which is now at the Helm ; or whose Inclination as well as Interest it is to encourage the latter. And it ought to be observed, that those great and excellent Persons we see at the Head of Affairs, are of the *QUEEN's own personal voluntary Choice* ; not forced upon Her by any *insolent, overgrown Favourite*, or by the pretended *Necessity* of complying with an *unruly Faction*.

YET these are the Persons whom those Scandals to the Press, in their Daily Pamphlets, and Papers, openly revile at so ignominious a Rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any Government. For, surely no lawful Power derived from a Prince, should be so far affronted, as to leave those who are in Authority exposed to every scurrilous Libeller. Because, in this Point, I make a mighty Difference between those who are *In*, and those who are *Out* of Power ; not upon any Regard to their Persons, but the Stations they are placed in by the Sovereign. And, if my Distinction be right, I think I might appeal to any Man, whether if a Stranger were to read the Invectives which are daily published against the present Ministry ; and the outrageous Fury of the Authors against me for censuring the *Last* ; he would not conclude the *Whigs* to be at this Time in full Possession of Power and Favour, and the *Tories* entirely at Mercy ? But all this now ceaseth to be a Wonder,

Wonder, since the QUEEN Her self is no longer spared : witness the Libel published some Days ago under the Title of *A Letter to Sir Jacob Banks*, where the Reflections upon Her Sacred Majesty are much more plain and direct, than ever the *Examiner* thought fit to publish against the most obnoxious Persons in a *Ministry*, discarded for endeavouring the Ruin of their Prince and Country. *Cæsar* indeed threatned to hang the *Pirates* for presuming to disturb him while he was their Prisoner aboard their Ship : But it was *Cæsar* who did so, and he did it to a Crew of *Publick Robbers* ; and it became the Greatness of his Spirit ; for he lived to execute what he had threatned. Had *They* been in his Power, and sent such a Message, it could be imputed to nothing but the Extreams of Impudence, Folly, or Madness.

I HAD a Letter last Week relating to Mr. *Greenshields*, an *Episcopal Clergyman of Scotland* ; and the Writer seems to be a Gentleman of that Part of *Britain*. I remember formerly to have read a printed Account of Mr. *Greenshield's* Case, who hath been prosecuted and silenced for no other Reason beside reading Divine Service, after the Manner of the Church of *England*, to his own Congregation, which desired it ; although, as the Gentleman who writes to me says, there is no Law in *Scotland* against those Meetings ; and he adds, that the Sentence pronounced against Mr. *Greenshields* will soon be affirmed, if some Care be not taken to prevent it. I am altogether uninformed in the Particulars of this Case ; and besides, to treat it justly, would not come within the Compass of my Paper ; therefore I could wish the Gentleman would undertake it in a Discourse by it self ; and I should be glad he would inform the Publick in one Fact ; Whether the *Episco-*

pal Assemblies are freely allowed in *Scotland*? It is notorious that abundance of their Clergy fled from thence some Years ago into *England* and *Ireland*, as from a Persecution; but it was alledged by their Enemies, that they refused to take the Oaths to the Government, which however none of them scrupled when they came among us. It is somewhat extraordinary to see our *Whigs* and *Fanaticks* keep such a Stir about the *Sacred Act of Toleration*, while their *Brethren* will not allow a Connivance in so near a Neighbourhood; especially if what the Gentleman insists on in his Letter be true, that nine Parts in ten of the Nobility and Gentry, and two in three of the Commons, be *Episcopal*; of which one Argument he offers, is the present Choice of their Representatives in both Houses, although opposed to the utmost by the *Preachings*, *Threatnings*, and *Anathema's* of the *Kirk*. Such Usage to a Majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous Consequence; and I entirely agree with him. If these be the Principles of the *High-Kirk*, God preserve at least the Southern Parts from their Tyranny!

No. 31. Thursday, March 8, 1710.

—*Garrit aniles*
Ex re fabellas.

I HAD last Week sent me by an unknown Hand a Passage out of *Plato*, with some Hints how to apply it. That Author puts a Fable into the Mouth of *Aristophanes*, with an Account of the Original of *Love*. That, Mankind was at first created

created with four Arms and Legs, and all other Parts double to what they are now ; 'till *Jupiter*, as a Punishment for his Sins, cleft him in two with a Thunderbolt ; since which Time we are always looking for our other Half ; and this is the Cause of *Love*. But *Jupiter* threatned, that if they did not mend their Manners, he would give them t'other Slit, and leave them to hop about in the Shape of Figures in *Basso Relievo*. The Effect of this last Threatning, my Correspondent imagines is now come to pass ; and, that as the first *splitting* was the Original of *Love*, by inclining us to search out for our t'other Half, so the Second was the Cause of *Hatred*, by prompting us to fly from our *other Side*, and dividing the same *Body* into two, give each Slice the Name of a Party.

I APPROVE of the Fable and Application, with this Refinement upon it. For *Parties* do not only split a Nation, but every Individual among them, leaving each but Half their Strength, and Wit, and Honesty, and good Nature ; but one Eye and Ear, for their Sight and Hearing, and equally lopping the rest of the Senses : Where *Parties* are pretty equal in a State, no Man can perceive one bad Quality in his own, or good one in his Adversaries. Besides, *Party* being a dry disagreeable Subject, it renders Conversation insipid and sower, and confines Invention. I speak not here of the Leaders, but the insignificant Brood of Followers in a Party, who have been the Instruments of mixing it in every Condition, and Circumstance of Life. As the Zealots among the *Jews* bound the Law about their Foreheads and Wrists, and Hems of their Garments ; so the Women among us have got the distinguishing Marks of Party in their Muffs, their Fans, and their Furbelows. The *Whig* Ladies put on their Patches

Patches in a different Manner from the *Tories*. They have made *Schisms* in the *Play-House*, and each have their particular Sides at the *Opera*: And when a Man changeth his Party, he must infallibly count upon the Loss of his Mistress. I asked a Gentleman t'other Day, how he liked such a Lady? but he would not give me his Opinion, 'till I had answered him whether she were a *Whig* or *Tory*. Mr. * * * * since he is known to visit the present Ministry, and lay some Time under a Suspicion of writing the *Examiner*, is no longer a Man of *Wit*; his very *Poems* have contracted a Stupidity many Years after they were printed.

HAVING lately ventured upon a Metaphorical Genealogy of *Merit*, I thought it would be proper to add another of *Party*, or rather of *Faction* (to avoid Mistake) not telling the Reader, whether it be my own or a Quotation, 'till I know how it is approved: But whether I read or dreamt it, the Fable is as follows.

LIBERTY, the *Daughter* of Oppression, after having brought forth several fair *Children*, as Riches, Arts, Learning, Trade, and many others; was at last delivered of her youngest *Daughter*, called **FACTION**; whom Juno, doing the Office of Mid-wife, distorted in its Birth, out of Envy to the Mother; from whence it derived its Peevishness and Sickly Constitution. However, as it is often the Nature of Parents to grow most fond of their youngest and disagreeablest *Children*, so it happened with Liberty, who doated on this *Daughter* to such a Degree, that by her good Will she would never suffer the Girl to be out of her Sight. As Miss *Faction* grew up, she became so termagant and froward, that there was no enduring her any longer in Heaven. Jupiter gave her

her warning to be gone ; and her Mother, rather than forsake her, took the whole Family down to Earth. She landed at first in Greece, was expelled by degrees through all the Cities by her Daughter's ill Conduct ; she fled afterwards to Italy, and being banished thence, took Shelter among the Goths, with whom she passed into most Parts of Europe ; but being driven out every where, she began to lose Esteem ; and her Daughter's Faults were imputed to her self : So, that at this Time, she hath hardly a Place in the World to retire to. One would wonder what strange Qualities this Daughter must possess, sufficient to blast the Influence of so divine a Mother, and the rest of her Children : She always affected to keep mean and scandalous Company ; valuing no Body, but just as they agreed with her in every capricious Opinion she thought fit to take up ; and rigorously exacting Compliance, although she changed her Sentiments ever so often. Her great Employment was to breed Discord among Friends and Relations ; and make up monstrous Alliances between those whose Dispositions least resembled each other. Whoever offered to contradict her, although in the most insignificant Trifle, she would be sure to distinguish by some ignominious Appellation, and allow them to have neither Honour, Wit, Beauty, Learning, Honesty or common Sense. She intruded into all Companies at the most unseasonable Times ; mixt at Balls, Assemblies, and other Parties of Pleasure ; haunted every Coffee-house and Bookseller's Shop ; and by her perpetual talking filled all Places with Disturbance and Confusion. She buzzed about the Merchant in the Exchange, the Divine in his Pulpit, and the Shopkeeper behind his Counter. Above all, she frequented Publick Assemblies, where she sate in the Shape of an obscene ominous Bird, ready to prompt her Friends as they spoke.

IF I understand this Fable of **FACTION** right, it ought to be applied to those who set themselves up against the true Interest and Constitution of their Country ; which I wish the Undertakers for the late Ministry would please to take Notice of ; or tell us by what Figure of Speech they pretend to call so great and unforced a Majority, with the **QUEEN** at the Head, by the Name of *the Faction* : Which is not unlike the Phrase of the *Nonjurors*, who dignifying one or two deprived Bishops, and half a score Clergymen of the same Stamp, with the Title of the *Church of England* ; exclude all the rest as *Schismatics* ; or like the *Presbyterians*, laying the same Accusation, with equal Justice, against the Established Religion.

AND here it may be worth inquiring what are the true Characteristicks of a *Faction* ; or how it is to be distinguished from that great Body of the People who are Friends to the Constitution ? The Heads of a *Faction*, are usually a Set of Upstarts, or Men ruined in their Fortunes, whom some great Change in a Government, did at first, out of their Obscurity, produce upon the Stage. They associate themselves with those who dislike the old Establishment, Religious and Civil. They are full of new Schemes in Politicks and Divinity ; they have an incurable Hatred against the old Nobility, and strengthen their Party by Dependents raised from the lowest of the People ; they have several Ways of working themselves into Power ; but they are sure to be called when a corrupt Administration wants to be supported, against those who are endeavouring at a Reformation ; and they firmly observe that celebrated Maxim of preserving *Power* by the same Arts it is attained. They act with the Spirit of those who believe their Time is but short ; and

and their first Care is to heap up immense Riches at the publick Expence ; in which they have two Ends, beside that common one of insatiable Avarice ; which are to make themselves necessary, and to keep the Common Wealth in Dependance : Thus they hope to compass their Design, which is, instead of fitting their Principles to the Constitution, to alter and adjust the Constitution to their own pernicious Principles.

IT is easy determining by this Test, to which Side the Name of *Faction* most properly belongs. But however I will give them any System of Lawful or Regal Government, from *William* the Conqueror to this present Time, to try whether they can tally it with their late Models ; excepting only that of *Cromwell*, whom perhaps they will reckon for a Monarch.

IF the present Ministry, and so great a Majority in the Parliament and Kingdom, be only a *Faction* ; it must appear by some Actions which answer the Idea we usually conceive from that Word. Have they abused the Prerogative of the Prince, or invaded the Rights and Liberties of the Subject ? Have they offered at any dangerous Innovations in Church or State ? Have they broached any Doctrines of Heresy, Rebellion, or Tyranny ? Have any of them treated their Sovereign with Insolence, engrossed and sold all Her Favours, or deceived Her by base gros Misrepresentations of Her most faithful Servants ? These are the Arts of a *Faction* ; and whoever hath practised them, they and their Followers must take up with the Name.

IT is usually reckoned a *Whig* Principle to appeal to the People ; but that is only when they have been so wise as to poison their Understandings

ings before-hand: Will they now stand to this Appeal, and be determined by their *Vox Populi*, to which Side their Title of *Faction* belongs? And that the People are now left to the natural Freedom of their Understanding and Choice, I believe our Adversaries will hardly deny. They will now refuse this Appeal, and it is reasonable they should; and I will further add, that if our People resembled the old *Grecians*, there might be Danger in such a Tryal. A pragmatical Orator told a great Man at *Athens*, that whenever the People were in their *Rage*, they would certainly tear him to Pieces; yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you, whenever they are in their *Wits*. But, God be thanked, our Populace is more merciful in their Nature, and at present under better Direction; and the Orators among us have attempted to confound both Prerogative and Law, in their Sovereign's Presence, and before the highest Court of Judicature, without any Hazard to their Persons.

No. 32. Thursday, March 15, 1710.

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parti corporis scalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ; carnificina est ista, & crudelitas. Hi medentur Republicæ qui exsecant pestem aliquam, tanquam strumam Civitatis.

IA M diverted from the general Subject of my Discourses, to reflect upon an Event of a very extraordinary and surprizing Nature: A great Minister, in high Confidence with the QUEEN, under

der whose Management the Weight of Affairs at present is in a great Measure supposed to lie ; sitting in Council, in a Royal Palace, with a Dozen of the Chief Officers of State, is stabbed at the very Board, in the Execution of his Office, by the Hand of a *French Papist*, then under Examination for High Treason. The Assassin redoubles his Blow, to make sure Work ; and concluding the * Chancellor was dispatched, goes on with the same Rage to murder a Principal Secretary of State : And that whole Noble Assembly are forced to rise, and draw their Swords in their own Defence, as if a wild Beast had been let loose among them.

THIS Fact hath some Circumstances of Aggravation not to be paralleled by any of the like Kind we meet with in History. *Cæsar's* Murder being performed in the Senate, comes nearest to the Case ; but that was an Affair concerted by great Numbers of the chief Senators, who were likewise the Actors in it, and not the Work of a vile, single Ruffian. *Harry the Third of France* was stabbed by an Enthusiastick *Friar*, whom he suffered to approach his Person, while those who attended him stood at some Distance. His Successor met the same Fate in a Coach, where neither he nor his Nobles, in such a Confinement, were able to defend themselves. In our own Country we have, I think, but one Instance of this Sort, which hath made any Noise ; I mean that of *Felton*, about fourscore Years ago : But he took the Opportunity to stab the Duke of *Buckingham* in passing through a dark Lobby, from one Room to another : The Blow was neither seen nor heard ; and the Murderer might have escaped, if his own Concern and Horror,

* Mr. HARLEY, then Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Horror, as it is usual in such Cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, that Act of *Felton* will admit of some Extenuation from the Motives he is said to have had: But this Attempt of *Guisard* seems to have outdone them all in every heightning Circumstance, except the Difference of Persons between a King and a great Minister: For I give no Allowance at all to the Difference of Success (which however is yet uncertain and depending) nor think it the least Alleviation to the Crime, whatever it may be to the Punishment.

I AM sensible, it is ill arguing from Particulars to Generals; and that we ought not to charge upon a Nation the Crimes of a few desperate Villains it is so unfortunate to produce: Yet, at the same Time it must be avowed, that the *French* have for these last Centuries been somewhat too liberal of their Daggers upon the Persons of their greatest Men; such as the Admiral *de Coligny*, the Dukes of *Guise*, Father and Son, and the two Kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a People, whose Genius seems wholly turned to singing, and dancing, and prating; to Vanity and Impertinence; who lay so much Weight upon Modes and Gestures; whose Essentialities are generally so very superficial; who are usually so serious upon Trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious; have been capable of committing such solid Villainies, more suitable to the Gravity of a *Spaniard*, or Silence and Thoughtfulness of an *Italian*: Unless it be, that in a Nation naturally so full of themselves, and of so restless Imaginations; when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy Constitution, that Huddle of confused Thoughts, for want of evaporating, usually terminates in Rage or Despair. *D'Avila* observes, that *Jacques Clement* was a Sort of

of Buffoon, whom the rest of the Friars used to make Sport with : But at last, giving his Folly a serious Turn, it ended in Enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate Act of murdering his King.

But, in the Marquis *de Guiscard* there seems to have been a Complication of Ingredients for such an Attempt : He had committed several Enormities in *France* ; was extremely prodigal and vicious ; of a dark melancholy Complexion, and cloudy Countenance, such as in vulgar Physiognomy is called an *Ill Look*. For the rest, his Talents were very mean, having a sort of inferior Cunning, but very small Abilities ; so that a great Man of the late Ministry, by whom he was invited over, and with much Discretion raised at first Step from a profligate *Popish Priest* to a Lieutenant-General and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, was forced at last to drop him for Shame.

HAD such an Accident happened under that Ministry, and to so considerable a Member of it ; they would have immediately charged it upon the whole Body of those they are pleased to call *the Faction*. This would have been styled a *High-Church Principle* ; the Clergy would have been accused as Promoters and Abettors of the Fact ; Committees would have been sent to promise the Criminal his Life, provided they might have Liberty to direct and dictate his Confession ; and a *Black List* would have been printed of all those who had been ever seen in the Murderer's Company. But, the present Men in Power hate and despise all such detestable Arts, which they might now turn upon their Adversaries with much more Plausibility, than ever these did their Honourable Negotiations with *Greg.*

AND

AND here it may be worth observing how unanimous a Concurrence there is between some Persons once in high Power, and a *French Papist*; both agreeing in the great End of taking away Mr. *Harley*'s Life, although differing in their Methods: The first proceeding by Subornation, the other by Violence; wherein *Guiscard* seems to have the Advantage, as aiming no further than his Life; while the others designed to destroy at once both That and his Reputation. The Malice of both against this Gentleman seems to have risen from the same Cause; his discovering Designs against the Government. It was Mr. *Harley* who detected the Treasonable Correspondence of *Greg*, and secured him betimes; when a certain great Man who shall be nameless, had, out of the Depth of his Politicks, sent him a Caution to make his Escape; which would certainly have fixed the Appearance of Guilt upon Mr. *Harley*: But when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned Criminal with Promise of a Pardon, to write and sign an Accusation against the Secretary. But to use *Greg*'s own Expression, *His Death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a Life that must be saved by prostituting his Conscience*. The same Gentleman lies now stabbed by his other Enemy, a Popish Spy, whose Treason he hath discovered. God preserve the rest of her Majesty's Ministers from such *Protestants*, and from such *Papists*!

I SHALL take Occasion to hint at some Particularities in this surprising Fact, for the Sake of those at distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The Murderer confessed in *Newgate*, that his chief Design was against Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who happened to change Seats with Mr. *Harley*, for more Convenience of examining the Criminal: And

And being asked what provoked him to stab the Chancellor? He said, that not being able to come at the Secretary, as he intended, it was some Satisfaction to murder the Person whom he thought Mr. St. John loved best.

AND here, if Mr. *Harley* hath still any Enemies left, whom his Blood spilt in the Publick Service cannot reconcile; I hope they will at least admire his Magnanimity, which is a Quality esteemed even in an Enemy: And, I think there are few greater Instances of it to be found in Story. After the Wound was given, he was observed neither to change his Countenance, nor discover any Concern or disorder in his Speech: He rose up, and walked along the Room while he was able, with the greatest Tranquility, during the Midst of the Confusion. When the Surgeon came, he took him aside, and desired he would inform him freely whether the Wound were mortal; because in that Case, he said, he had some Affairs to settle, relating to his Family. The Blade of the Penknife, broken by the Violence of the Blow against a Rib, within a Quarter of an Inch of the Handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the Wound, or his Clothes) as the Surgeon was going to dress him; he ordered it to be taken up, and wiping it himself, gave it some body to keep, saying, he thought *it now properly belonged to him*. He shewed no Sort of Resentment, or spoke one violent Word against *Guiscard*; but appeared all the while the least concerned of any in the Company. A State of Mind, which in such an Exigency, nothing but Innocence can give; and is truly worthy of a Christian Philosopher.

IF there be really so great a Difference in Principle between the *High-flying Whigs*, and the Friends of

of *France*; I cannot but repeat the Question, how come they to join in the Destruction of the same Man? Can his Death be possibly for the Interest of Both? or have they Both the same Quarrel against Him, that he is perpetually discovering and preventing the treacherous Designs of our Enemies? However it be, this great Minister may now say with *St. Paul*, that he hath been *in Perils by his own Countrymen, and in Perils by Strangers*.

IN the Midst of so melancholy a Subject, I cannot but congratulate with our own Country, that such a Savage Monster as the Marquis *de Guiscard*, is none of her Production: A Wretch, perhaps, more detestable in his own Nature, than even this barbarous Act hath been yet able to represent Him to the World. For, there are good Reasons to believe, from several Circumstances, that he had Intentions of a deeper Dye, than those he happened to execute; I mean such as every good Subject must tremble to think on. He hath of late been frequently seen going up the Back-stairs at Court, and walking alone in an outer Room adjoining to Her Majesty's Bedchamber. He hath often and earnestly pressed for some time to have Access to the *QUEEN*, even since his Correspondence with *France*; and he hath now given such a Proof of his Disposition, as leaves it easy to guess what was before in his Thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped that the Legislature will interpose on so extraordinary an Occasion as this, and direct a Punishment some way proportionable to so execrable a Crime.

*Et quicunque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita*—

No.

No. 33. *Thursday, March 22, 1710.*

*De Libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius tibi
affentior.*

THE Apologies of the ancient Fathers are reckoned to have been the most useful Parts of their Writings, and to have done greatest Service to the Christian Religion; because they removed those Misrepresentations which had done it most Injury. The Methods these Writers took, was openly and freely to discover every Point of their Faith; to detect the Falshood of their Accusers; and to charge nothing upon their Adversaries but what they were sure to make good. This Example hath been ill followed of later Times: The *Papists* since the Reformation using all Arts to palliate the Absurdities of their Tenets, and loading the Reformers with a thousand Calumnies; the Consequence of which hath been only a more various, wide, and inveterate Separation. It is the same Thing in Civil Schisms: A *Whig* forms an Image of a *Tory*, just after the Thing he most abhors; and that Image serveth to represent the whole Body.

I AM not sensible of any material Difference there is between those who call themselves the *Old Whigs*, and a great Majority of the present *Tories*; at least by all I could ever find, from examining several Persons of each Denomination. But, it must be confessed, that the present Body of *Whigs*, as they now constitute that Party, is a very odd Mixture of

Mankind ; being forced to enlarge their Bottom, by taking in every Heterodox Professor either in Religion or Government, whose Opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of lessening their Number ; while the Bulk of the Landed-Men and People were entirely of the old Sentiments. However, they still pretended a due Regard to the *Monarchy* and the *Church*, even at the Time when they were making the largest Steps towards the Ruin of both : But not being able to wipe off the many Accusations laid to their Charge, they endeavoured by throwing of Scandal, to make the *Tories* appear blacker than themselves ; that so the People might join with *them*, as the smaller Evil of the two.

BUT, among all the Reproaches which the *Whigs* have flung upon their Adversaries, there is none hath done them more Service than that of *Passive Obedience*, as they represent it, with the Consequences of *Non-Resistance*, *Arbitrary Power*, *Indefeasible Right*, *Tyranny*, *Popery*, and what not ? There is no Accusation which hath passed with more Plausibility than this ; nor any that is supported with less Justice. In order therefore to undeceive those who have been misled by false Representations, I thought it would be no improper Undertaking to set this Matter in a fair Light, which, I think, hath not yet been done. A *Whig* asks, whether you hold *Passive Obedience* ? You affirm it : He then immediately cries out, you are a *Jacobite*, a *Friend of France* and the *Pretender* ; because he makes you answerable for the Definition he hath formed of that Term, however different it be from what you understand. I will therefore give two Descriptions of *Passive Obedience* ; the First, as it is falsely charged by the *Whigs* ; the Other, as it is really professed

by

by the *Tories*, at least by nineteen in twenty of all I ever conversed with.

Passive Obedience as charged by the WHIGS.

THE Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* is to believe, that a King, even in a limited Monarchy holding his Power only from God, is only answerable to him. That, such a King is above all Law; that the cruellest Tyrant must be submitted to in all Things; and if his Commands be ever so unlawful, you must neither fly nor resist, nor use any other Weapons than *Prayers* and *Tears*. Although he should force your Wife or Daughter, murder your Children before your Face, or cut off five hundred Heads in a Morning for his Diversion; you are still to wish him a long prosperous Reign, and to be patient under all his Cruelties, with the same Resignation as under a Plague or a Famine; because, to resist him would be to resist God in the Person of his Vicegerent. If a King of *England* should go through the Streets of *London*, in order to murder every Man he met, *Passive Obedience* commands them to submit. All Laws made to limit him signify nothing, although passed by his own Consent, if he think fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a severe Account; but the whole People, united to a Man, cannot presume to hold his Hands, or offer him the least *Active Disobedience*. The People were certainly created for him, and not he for the People. His next Heir, although worse than what I have described, although a Fool or a Madman, hath a Divine indefeasible Right to succeed him, which no Law can disannul; nay, although he should kill his Father upon the Throne, he is immediately King to all Intents and

Purposes ; the Possession of the Crown wiping off all Stains. But whosoever sits on the Throne without this Title, although never so peaceably, and by Consent of former Kings and Parliaments, is an *Usurper*, while there is any where in the World another Person who hath a nearer Hereditary Right ; and the whole Kingdom lies under mortal Sin until that Heir be restored ; because he hath a Divine Title, which no human Law can defeat.

THIS and a great deal more hath, in a thousand Papers and Pamphlets been laid to that Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, which the *Whigs* are pleased to charge upon us. This is what they perpetually are instilling into the People to believe, as the undoubted Principle by which the present Ministry, and a great Majority in Parliament, do at this Time proceed. This is what they accuse the Clergy of delivering from the Pulpits, and of preaching up as a Doctrine absolutely necessary to Salvation. And whoever affirms in general, that *Passive Obedience* is due to the Supream Power, he is presently loaden by our candid Adversaries with such Consequences as these. Let us therefore see what this Doctrine is, when stript of such Misrepresentations ; by describing it as really taught and practised by the *Tories* ; and then it will appear what Grounds our Adversaries have to accuse us upon this Article.

Passive Obedience, as professed and practised by the TORIES.

THEY think that in every Government, whether Monarchy or Republick, there is placed a supream, absolute, unlimited Power, to which

Passive

Passive Obedience is due. That, wherever is entrusted the Power of making Laws, that Power is without all Bounds; can repeal or enact at Pleasure whatever Laws it thinks fit; and justly demands Universal Obedience and Non-Resistance. That, among us, as every Body knows, this Power is lodged in the King or Queen, together with the Lords and Commons of the Kingdom; and therefore all Decrees whatsoever, made by that Power, are to be actively or passively obeyed: That, the Administration or executive Part of this Power is in *England* solely intrusted with the Prince; who, in administering those Laws, ought to be no more resisted than the Legislative Power it self. But, they do not conceive the same absolute *Passive Obedience* to be due to a limited Prince's Commands, when they are directly contrary to the Laws he hath consented to, and sworn to maintain. The Crown may be sued as well as a private Person; and if an arbitrary King of *England* should send his Officers to seize my Land or Goods against Law; I can lawfully resist them. The Ministers by whom he acts are liable to Persecution and Impeachment, although his own Person be Sacred. But, if he interpose his Royal Authority to support their Insolence, I see no Remedy, until it grows a general Grievance, or until the Body of the People have Reason to apprehend it will be so; after which it becomes a Case of Necessity; and then I suppose, a free People may assert their own Rights, yet without any Violation to the Person or lawful Power of the Prince. But, although the *Tories* allow all this, and did justify it by the Share they had in the *Revolution*; yet they see no Reason for entreing upon so ungrateful a Subject, or raising Controversies upon it, as if we were in daily Apprehensions of *Tyranny*, under the Reign

of so excellent a Princess, and while we have so many Laws of late Years made to limit the Prerogative. As to the Succession ; the *Tories* think an *Hereditary Right* to be the best in its own Nature, and most agreeable to our old Constitution ; yet at the same Time they allow it to be defeasible by Act of Parliament ; and so is *Magna Charta* too, if the Legislature think fit ; which is a Truth so manifest, that no Man who understands the Nature of Government, can be in doubt concerning it.

THESE I take to be the Sentiments of a great Majority among the *Tories*, with Respect to *Passive Obedience* : And if the *Whigs* insist, from the Writings or common Talk of warm and ignorant Men, to form a Judgment of the whole Body, according to the first Account I have here given ; I will engage to produce as many of their Side, who are utterly against *Passive Obedience* even to the Legislature ; who will assert the last Resort of Power to be in the People, against those whom they have chosen and trusted as their Representatives, with the Prince at the Head ; and who will put wild improbable Cases to shew the Reasonableness and Necessity of resisting the Legislative Power, in such imaginary Junctures. Than which however, nothing can be more idle ; for I dare undertake in any System of Government, either Speculative or Practick, that was ever yet in the World, from *Plato's Republick*, to *Harrington's Oceana*, to put such Difficulties as cannot be answered.

ALL the other Calumnies raised by the *Whigs* may be as easily wiped off : And I have Charity to wish they could as fully answer the just Accusations we have against them. *Dodwell, Hicks, and Lesley*, are gravely quoted, to prove that the *Tories* design

to

to bring in the *Pretender*; and if I should quote them to prove that the same Thing is intended by the *Whigs*, it would be full as reasonable; since I am sure they have at least as much to do with *Non-jurors* as we. But, our Objections against the *Whigs* are built upon their constant Practice for many Years, whereof I have produced a hundred Instances against any single one; to which no Answer hath yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the Papers I could meet with that are writ against the *Examiner*; such a Task, as I hope, no Man thinks I would undergo for any other End, but that of finding an Opportunity to own and rectify my Mistakes; as I would be ready to do upon Call of the *meanest* Adversary. Upon which Occasion, I shall take Leave to add a few Words.

I FLATTERED my self last *Thursday*, from the Nature of my Subject, and the inoffensive Manner I handled it, that I should have one Week's Respite from those merciless Pens, whose Severity will some Time break my Heart: But I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two Lies, and a Blunder. The first Lie is a Truth, that *Guiscard* was invited over: But it is of no Consequence: I do not tax it as a Fault; such Sort of Men have often been serviceable: I only blamed the Indiscretion of raising a profligate Abbot, at the first Step, to a Lieutenant General and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, without staying some reasonable Time, as is usual in such Cases, until he had given some Proofs of his Fidelity, as well as of that Interest and Credit he pretended to have in his Country: But, that is said to be another Lie, for he was a *Papist*, and could not have a Regiment. However this other Lie is a Truth too; for a Regiment he had, and paid by us, to his Agent Monsieur *Le*

Bas, for his Use. The third is a *Blunder*, that I say *Guiscard's Design* was against Mr. Secretary *St. John*; and yet my Reasonings upon it, are, as if it were personal against Mr. *Harley*. But I say no such Thing, and my Reasonings are just; I relate only what *Guiscard* said in *Newgate*, because it was a Particularity the Reader might be curious to know (and accordingly it lies in a Paragraph by it self, after my Reflections) but I never meant to be answerable for what *Guiscard* said, or thought it of Weight enough for me to draw Conclusions from thence, when I had the Addres of both Houses to direct me better: Where it is expressly said, *That Mr. Harley's Fidelity to her Majesty, and Zeal for her Service, have drawn upon him the Hatred of all the Abettors of Popery and Faction.* This is what I believe, and what I shall stick to.

BU T alas, these are not the Passages which have raised so much Fury against me. One or two Mistakes in Facts of no Importance, or a single Blunder, would not have provoked them; they are not so tender of my Reputation as a Writer. All their Outrage is occasioned by those Passages in that Paper, which they do not in the least pretend to answer; and with the utmost Reluctancy are forced to mention. They take abundance of Pains to clear *Guiscard* from a Design against Mr. *Harley's* Life; but offer not one Argument to clear their other Friends, who in the Business of *Greg*, were equally guilty of the *same Design* against the *same Person*; *whose Tongues were very Swords, and whose Pen-knives were Axes.*

No. 34. Thursday, March 29, 1711.

— *Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi ;
Sunt lacrymæ rerum, & mentem mortalia tangunt.*

I BEGIN to be heartily weary of my Employment as *Examiner* ; which I wish the Ministry would consider, with half so much Concern as I do ; and assign me some other with less Pains, and a Pension. There may soon be a Vacancy, either on the Bench, in the Revenue, or the Army, and I am *equally* qualified for each : But this Trade of *Examining*, I apprehend, may at one Time or other go near to fowr my Temper. I did lately propose that some of those *ingenious* Pens, which are engaged on the other Side, might be employed to succeed me ; and I undertook to bring them over for *another Crown* ; but it was answered, that those Gentlemen do much better Service in the Stations where they are. It was added, that abundance of Abuses yet remained to be laid open to the World, which I had often promised to do, but was too much diverted by other Subjects, that came into my Head. On the other Side ; the Advice of some Friends, and the Threats of many Enemies, have put me upon considering what would become of me if *Times should alter*. This I have done very maturely, and the Result is, that I am in no Manner of Pain. I grant, that what I have said upon Occasion, concerning the late Men in Power, may be called *Satyr* by some unthinking People, as long as that Faction is down ; but if ever they come into Play again, I must give them warning beforehand,

hand, that I shall expect to be a *Favourite*, and that those pretended Advocates of theirs, will be Pilloried for *Libellers*. For, I appeal to any Man, whether I ever charged that Party, or its Leaders, with one single Action or Design, which (if we may judge by their former Practices) they will not openly profess, be proud of, and score up for Merit, when they come again to the Head of Affairs? I said, they were *Insolent* to the *QUEEN*; Will they not value themselves upon That, as an Argument to prove them bold *Affertors* of the People's Liberty? I affirmed they were against a *Peace*; will they be angry with me for setting forth the Refinements of their *Politicks*, in pursuing the only Method left to preserve them in *Power*? I said, they had involved the Nation in *Debts*, and ingrossed much of its *Money*; they go beyond me, and boast they have got it *all*, and the *Credit* too. I have urged the Probability of their intending great Alterations in Religion and Government: If they destroy both at their next Coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it, rather as a *Panegyrick* than an *Affront*? I said, they had formerly a * *Design* against Mr. *Harley*'s *Life*: If they were now in *Power*, would they not immediately cut off his *Head*, and thank me for justifying the *Sincerity* of their *Intentions*? In short, there is nothing I ever said of those worthy *Patriots*, which may not be as well excused: Therefore, as soon as They resume their *Places*, I positively design to put in my *Claim*; and, I think, may do it with better *Gracē*, than many of that Party who now make their *Court* to the present *Ministry*. I know two or three great Men, at whose *Levees* you may daily observe a Score of the

most

* *Vide EXAMINER 32:*

most forward Faces, which every Body is ashamed of, except those who wear them. But I conceive my Pretensions will be upon a very different Foot: Let me offer a Parallel Case. Suppose, King *Charles* the First had entirely subdued the Rebels at *Naseby*, and reduced the Kingdom to his Obedience: Whoever had gone about to reason, from the former Conduct of those *Saints*, that if the Victory had fallen on their Side, they would have murdered their Prince, destroyed Monarchy and the Church, and made the King's Party compound for their Estates as Delinquents; would have been called a false, uncharitable Libeller, by those very Persons who afterwards gloried in all this, and called it the *Work of the Lord*, when they happened to succeed. I remember there was a Person fined and imprisoned for *Scandalum Magnatum*, because he said the Duke of *York* was a Papist; but when that Prince came to be King, and made open Profession of his Religion, he had the Justice immediately to release his Prisoner, who in his Opinion had put a Compliment upon him, and not a Reproach: And therefore Colonel *Titus*, who had warmly asserted the same Thing in Parliament, was made a Privy-Counsellor.

By this Rule, if that which, for some Politick Reasons, is now called Scandal upon the late Ministry, prove one Day to be only an Abstract of such a Character as they will assume and be proud of; I think I may fairly offer my Pretensions, and hope for their Favour. And I am the more confirmed in this Notion by what I have observed in those Papers, that come weekly out against the *Examiner*: The Authors are perpetually telling me of my Ingratitude to my Masters; that I *blunder*, and betray the Cause; and write with more Bitterness against those

those who hire me, than against the Whigs. Now, I took all this at first only for so many Strains of Wit, and pretty Paradoxes to divert the Reader; but upon further thinking I find they are Serious. I imagined I had complimented the present Ministry for their dutiful Behaviour to the QUEEN; for their Love of the old Constitution in Church and State; for their Generosity and Justice, and for their Desire of a speedy, honourable Peace: But it seems I am mistaken, and they reckon all this for Satyr, because it is directly contrary to the Practice of all those whom they set up to defend, and utterly against all their Notions of a good Ministry. Therefore I cannot but think they have Reason on their Side: For, suppose I should write the Character of an Honest, a Religious, and a Learned Man, and send the first to *Newgate*, the second to the *Grecian Coffee-House*, and the last to *White's*; would they not all pass for *Satyrs*, and justly enough, among the Companies to whom they were sent?

HAVING therefore employed several Papers in such sort of *Panegyricks*, and but very few on what they understand to be *Satyrs*; I shall henceforth upon Occasion be more Liberal of the latter; of which they are like to have a Taste in the Remainder of this present Paper.

AMONG all the Advantages which the Kingdom hath received by the late Change of Ministry, the greatest must be allowed the calling of the present Parliament, upon the Dissolution of the last. It is acknowledged, that this excellent Assembly hath entirely recovered the Honour of Parliaments, which hath been unhappily prostituted for some Years past by the Factious Proceedings of an unnatural Majority, in Concert with a most corrupt Administration. It is plain, by the present Choice of Members,

Members, that the Electors of *England*, when left to themselves, do rightly understand their true Interest. The moderate *Whigs* begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in wrong Hands; and that Things are now as they should be. And, as the present House of Commons is the best Representative of the Nation that hath ever been summoned in our Memories; so they have taken Care in their first Session, by that noble Bill of *Qualification*, that future Parliaments should be composed of Landed Men; and our Properties lie no more at the Mercy of those who have none themselves, or at least only what is transient or imaginary. If there be any Gratitude in Posterity, the Memory of this Assembly will be always celebrated; if otherwise, at least we, who share in the Blessings they derive to us, ought with grateful Hearts to acknowledge them.

I DESIGN, in some following Papers, to draw up a List (for I can do no more) of the great Things this Parliament hath already performed: the many Abuses they have detected; their Justice in deciding Elections without Regard of Party; their Chearfulness and Address in raising Supplies for the War; and at the same Time providing for the Nation's Debts; their Duty to the *QUEEN*, and their Kindness to the Church. In the mean Time I cannot forbear mentioning two Particulars, which in my Opinion do discover, in some Measure, the Temper of the present Parliament; and bear Analogy to those Passages related by *Plutarch*, in the Lives of certain great Men; which, as himself observeth, *Although they be not of Actions which make any great Noise or Figure in History, yet give more Light into the Characters of Persons, than we could receive*

receive from an Account of their most renowned Achievements.

SOMETHING like this may be observed from two late Instances of *Decency* and *good Nature*, in that illustrious Assembly I am speaking of. The first was, when after that inhuman Attempt upon Mr. *Harley*, they were pleased to vote an Address to the *QUEEN*; wherein they express their utmost Detestation of the Fact; their high Esteem and great Concern for that able Minister; and justly impute his Misfortunes to that Zeal for her Majesty's Service, which had *drawn upon him the Hatred of all the Abettors of Popery and Faction*. I dare affirm, that so distinguishing a Mark of Honour and good Will from such a Parliament, was more acceptable to a Person of Mr. *Harley*'s generous Nature, than the most *bountiful Grant* that was ever yet made to a Subject; as her Majesty's Answer, filled with gracious Expressions in his Favour, adds more to his *real Glory*, than any *Titles* she could bestow. The Prince and Representatives of the whole Kingdom, join in their Concern for so important a Life. These are the true Rewards of Virtue; and this is the Commerce between noble Spirits, in a Coin which the *Giver* knows where to bestow, and the *Receiver* how to value, although neither *Avarice* nor *Ambition* would be able to comprehend its Worth.

THE other Instance I intended to produce of *Decency* and *good Nature*, in the present House of Commons, relates to their most worthy Speaker; who having unfortunately lost his eldest Son; the Assembly, moved with a generous Pity for so sensible an Affliction, adjourned themselves for a Week, that so good a Servant of the Publick, might have some Interval to wipe away a Father's Tears: And indeed,

indeed, that Gentleman hath too just an Occasion for his Grief by the Death of a Son, who had already acquired so great a Reputation for every amiable Quality ; and who might have lived to be so great an Honour and an Ornament to his antient Family.

BEFORE I conclude, I must desire one Favour of the Reader ; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruse any Paper writ against the *Examiner*, he will not form his Judgment by any mangled Quotation out of it which he finds in such Papers, but be so just to read the Paragraph referred to ; which I am confident will be found a sufficient Answer to all that ever those Papers can object. At least I have seen above fifty of them, and never yet observed one single Quotation transcribed with common Candor.

No. 35. *Thursday, April 5, 1711.*

Nullo suo peccato impediantur, quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint.

I HAVE been considering the old Constitution of this Kingdom ; comparing it with the Monarchies and Republicks whereof we meet so many Accounts in ancient Story, and with those at present in most Parts of *Europe* : I have considered our Religion, established here by the Legislature soon after the Reformation : I have likewise examined the Genius and Disposition of the People, under that reasonable Freedom they possess : Then I have turned my Reflections upon those two great Divisions of *Whig* and *Tory*. (which, some Way or other)

other, take in the whole Kingdom) with the Principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another. From all this, I endeavour to determine, from which Side her present Majesty may reasonably hope for most Security to her Person and Government ; and to which she ought, in Prudence, to trust the Administration of her Affairs. If these two Rivals were really no more than *Parties*, according to the common Acceptation of the Word ; I should agree with those Politicians who think, a Prince descendeth from his Dignity by putting himself at the Head of either ; and that his wisest Course is, to keep them in a Balance ; raising or depressing either, as it best suited with his Designs. But, when the visible Interest of his Crown and Kingdom lies on one Side ; and when the other is but a *Faction*, raised and strengthened by Incidents and Intrigues, and by deceiving the People with false Representations of Things ; he ought, in Prudence, to take the first Opportunity of opening his Subjects Eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those, who are for preserving the Civil and Religious Rights of the Nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

THIS was certainly our Case : For I do not take the Heads, Advocates, and Followers of the *Whigs*, to make up, strictly speaking, a *National Party* ; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent Parts, whom nothing served to unite but the common Interest of sharing in the Spoil and Plunder of the People ; the present Dread of their Adversaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an Account, and that general Conspiracy, of endeavouring to overturn the Church and State ; which, however, if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke

broke in Pieces, as *their Predecessors* did, after they destroyed the Monarchy and Religion. For, how could a *Whig*, who is against all *Discipline*, agree with a *Presbyterian*, who carries it higher than the *Papists* themselves? How could a *Socinian* adjust his Models to either? Or how could any of these cement with a *Deist* or *Free-thinker*, when they came to consult upon Points of Faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their Systems of Government; where some would have been for a King, under the Limitations of the Duke of *Venice*; others for a *Dutch Republick*; a third Party for an *Aristocracy*; and most of them all for some new Fabrick of their own contriving.

BUT however, let us consider them as a *Party*, and under those general Tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publickly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us *examine* those Principles of the *Tories*, which their Adversaries allow them to profess, and do not pretend to tax them with any Actions contrary to those Professions: After which, let the Reader judge from which of these two Parties a Prince hath most to fear; and whether her Majesty did not consider the Ease, the Safety, and Dignity of her Person, the Security of her Crown, and the transmission of Monarchy to her Protestant Successors, when she put her Affairs into the present Hands.

SUPPOSE the Matter were not entire; the QUEEN to make her Choice; and for that End, should order the Principles on both Sides to be fairly laid before her. First, I conceive the *Whigs* would grant, that they have naturally no great Veneration for *crowned Heads*; that they allow, the Person of the Prince may, upon many Occasions, be resisted by Arms; and that they do not con-

demn the War raised against King *Charles* the First, or own it to be a Rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his Murder. They do not think the *Prerogative* to be yet sufficiently limited, and have therefore taken Care (as a particular Mark of their Veneration for the illustrious House of *Hanover*) to clip it closer against the next Reign; which, consequently, they would be glad to see done in the present: Not to mention, that the Majority of them, if it were put to the Vote, would allow, that they prefer a Commonwealth before a Monarchy. As to *Religion*; their universal undisputed Maxim is, That it ought to make no Distinction at all among *Protestants*; and in the Word *Protestant* they include every Body, who is not a *Papist*, and who will, by an Oath, give Security to the Government. Union in Discipline and Doctrine, the offensive Sin of Schism, the Notion of a Church and a Hierarchy, they laugh at as Foppery, Cant and *Priestcraft*. They see no Necessity at all that there should be a National Faith; and what we usually call by that Name, they only style the *Religion of the Magistrate*. Since the Dissenters and we agree in the Main, why should the Difference of a few Speculative Points, or Modes of Drefs, incapacitate them from serving their Prince and Country, in a Juncture when we ought to have all Hands up against the common Enemy? And why should they be forced to take the Sacrament from our Clergy's Hands, and in our Posture; or indeed why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an Employment which has nothing to do with Religion?

THESE are the Notions which most of that Party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false Colours, or complain of being

being misrepresented about. I have here placed them on Purpose, in the same Light which themselves do, in the very Apologies they make for what we accuse them of ; and how inviting even these Doctrines are, for such a Monarch to close with, as our Law, both Statute and Common, understands a King of *England* to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other Opinions, which most of their own Writers justify, and which their universal Practice hath given a Sanction to ; they are no more than what a Prince might reasonably expect, as the natural Consequence of those avowed Principles. For, when such Persons are at the Head of Affairs, the low Opinion they have of Princes, will certainly lead them to violate that Respect they ought to bear ; and at the same Time, their own Want of Duty to their Sovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater Submissions to themselves from their Fellow-Subjects : It being indisputably true, That the same Principle of Pride and Ambition makes a Man treat his Equals with Insolence, in the same Proportion as he affronts his Superiors ; as both Prince and People have sufficiently felt from the late Ministry.

THEN, from their confessed Notions of Religion, as above related, I see no Reason to wonder, why they countenanced not only all Sorts of Dissenters, but the several *Gradations* of *Free-thinkers* among us (all which were openly enrolled in their Party;) or why they were so very averse from the present established Form of Worship, which by prescribing Obedience to Princes from the Topick of Conscience, would be sure to thwart all their Schemes of Innovation.

ONE Thing I might add, as another acknowledged Maxim in that Party, and in my Opinion,

as dangerous to the Constitution as any I have mentioned ; I mean, That of preferring, on all Occasions, the *Moneied* Interest before the *Landed* ; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the Reasonableness and Justice of it ; and at the Rate they went on, might in a little Time have found a Majority of Representatives, fitly qualified to lay those heavy Burthens on the rest of the Nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their Fingers.

HOWEVER, to deal impartially, there are some Motives which might compel a Prince under the Necessity of Affairs, to deliver himself over to that Party. They were *said* to possess the great Bulk of **Cash**, and consequently of Credit in the Nation ; and the Heads of them had the Reputation of presiding over those Societies who have the great Direction of both : So that all Applications for Loans to the Publick Service, upon any Emergency, must be made through them ; and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them ; because in this Case, it was not to be doubted, that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all Affairs, not only by shutting their own Purses, but by endeavouring to sink *Credit*, although with some present imaginary Loss to themselves, only to shew it was a *Creature* of their own.

FROM this Summary of *Whig-Principles* and Dispositions, we find what a Prince may reasonably fear and hope from that Party. Let us now very briefly consider the Doctrines of the *Tories*, which their Adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well-regulated Monarchy, before all other Forms of Government ; so they think it next to impossible to alter that Institution here, without involving our whole Island in Blood and Desolation. They believe,

believe, that the Prerogative of a Sovereign ought, at least, to be held as sacred and inviolable as the Rights of his People ; if only for this Reason ; because, without a due Share of Power, he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known Laws of this Realm, both Statute and Common, neither the Person, nor lawful Authority of the Prince, ought, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to be resisted or disobeyed. Their Sentiments, in relation to the Church, are known enough, and will not be controverted, being just the Reverse to what I have delivered as the Doctrine and Practice of the *Whigs* upon that Article.

BUT here I must likewise deal impartially too ; and add one Principle as a Characteristick of the *Tories*, which hath much discouraged some Princes from making Use of them in Affairs. Give the *Whigs* but Power enough to insult their Sovereign, engross his Favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their Fellow-Subjects ; they presently grow into good Humour and good Language towards the Crown ; profess they will stand by it with their Lives and Fortunes ; and whatever Rudenesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the World, that there never was so gracious a Monarch. But, to the Shame of the *Tories*, it must be confessed, that nothing of all this hath been ever observed in them ; in or out of Favour, you see no Alteration, further than a little Cheerfulness or Cloud in their Countenances ; the highest Employments can add nothing to their Loyalty ; but their Behaviour to their Prince, as well as their Expressions of Love and Duty, are, in all Conditions exactly the same.

HAVING thus impartially stated the avowed Principles of *Whig* and *Tory* ; let the Reader determine,

mine, as he pleaseth, to which of these two a wise Prince may, with most Safety to himself and the Publick, trust his Person and his Affairs ; and whether it were Rashness or Prudence in her Majesty to make those Changes in the Ministry, which have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.

No. 36. Thursday, April 12, 1711.

*Tres species tam dissimiles, tria talia texta
Una dies dedit exitio* — — —

I WRITE this Paper for the Sake of the *Dissenters*, whom I take to be the most spreading Branch of the *Whig Party*, that professeth *Christianity* ; and the only one that seems to be zealous for any particular System of it ; the Bulk of those we call the *Low-Church* being generally indifferent, and undetermined in that Point ; and the other Subdivisions having not yet taken either the Old or New Testament into their Scheme. By the *Dissenters* therefore, it will easily be understood, that I mean the *Presbyterians*, as they include the Sects of *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and others, which have been melted down into them since the *Restoration*. This Sect, in order to make it self National, having gone so far as to raise a Rebellion, murder their King, destroy Monarchy and the Church ; was afterwards broken in Pieces by its own Divisions ; which made Way for the King's Return from his Exile. However, the Zealous among them did still entertain Hopes of recovering the *Dominion of Grace* ;

Grace; whereof I have read a remarkable Passage, in a Book published about the Year 1661, and written by one of their own Side. As one of the Regicides was going to his Execution, a Friend asked him, *Whether he thought the Cause would revive?* He answered, *The Cause is in the Bosom of Christ; and as sure as Christ rose from the Dead, so sure will the Cause revive also.* And therefore the *Nonconformists* were strictly watched and restrained by Penal Laws, during the Reign of King *Charles the Second*; the Court and Kingdom looking on them as a *Faction*, ready to join in any Design against the Government in Church or State: And surely this was reasonable enough, while so many continued alive, who had voted, and fought, and preached against both, and gave no Proof that they had changed their Principles. The *Nonconformists* were then exactly upon the same Foot with our *Nonjurors* now, whom we double Tax, forbid their Conventions, and keep under Hatches; without thinking ourselves possessed with a persecuting Spirit; because we know they want nothing but the Power to ruin us. This, in my Opinion, should altogether silence the *Dissenters* Complaints of Persecution under King *Charles the Second*; or make them shew us wherein they differed, at that Time, from what our *Jacobites* are now.

THEIR Inclinations to the Church were soon discovered, when King *James the Second* succeeded to the Crown, with whom they unanimously joined in its Ruin, to revenge themselves for that Restraint they had most justly suffered in the foregoing Reign; not from the persecuting Temper of the Clergy, as their Clamours would suggest, but the Prudence and Caution of the Legislature. The same Indulgence against Law, was made Use of

by them and the *Papists*; and they amicably employed their Power, as in Defence of one common Interest.

But the Revolution happening soon after, served to wash away the Memory of the Rebellion; upon which, the Run against *Popery*, was no doubt as just and seasonable, as that of *Fanaticism*, after the Restoration: And the Dread of *Popery*, being then our latest Danger, and consequently the most fresh upon our Spirits, all Mouths were open against That; the *Dissenters* were rewarded with an Indulgence by Law; the Rebellion and King's Murder were now no longer a Reproach; the former was only a Civil War, and whoever durst call it a *Rebellion*, was a *Jacobite*, and *Friend to France*. This was the more unexpected, because the Revolution being wholly brought about by Church of *England* Hands, they hoped one good Consequence of it, would be the relieving us from the Incroachments of *Dissenters*, as well as those of *Papists*; since both had equally confederated towards our Ruin; and therefore, when the Crown was new settled, it was hoped at least that the rest of the Constitution would be restored. But this Affair took a very different Turn; the *Dissenters* had just made a Shift to save a Tide; and join with the Prince of *Orange*, when they found all was desperate with their *Protector King James*: And, observing a Party, then forming against the old Principles in Church and State, under the Name of *Whigs* and *Low-Churchmen*, they listed themselves of it, where they have ever since continued.

It is therefore, upon the Foot they now are, that I would apply my self to them, and desire they would consider the different Circumstances at present, from what they were under, when they began their Design

signs against the Church and Monarchy, about seventy Years ago. At that Juncture they made up the Body of the Party ; and whosoever joined with them from Principles of Revenge, Discontent, Ambition, or Love of Change, were all forced to shelter under their Denomination united heartily in the Pretences of a further and purer Reformation in Religion, and of advancing the *great Work* (as the *Cant* was then) *that God was about to do in these Nations* ; received the Systems of Doctrine and Discipline prescribed by the *Scots*, and readily took the *Covenant* ; so that there appeared no Division among them, 'till after the common Enemy was subdued.

BUT now their Case is quite otherwise ; and I can hardly think it worth being a *Party*, upon the Terms they have been received of late Years : For, suppose the whole *Faction* should at length succeed in their Design of destroying the Church ; are they so Weak to imagine, that the new Modelling of Religion, would be put into their Hands ? Would their Brethren, the *Low-Churchmen* and *Free-thinkers*, submit to their *Discipline*, their *Synods* or their *Classes*, and divide the Lands of Bishops, or Deans and Chapters, among Them ? How can they help observing, that their Allies, instead of pretending more Sanctity than other Men, are some of them for levelling all Religion ; and the rest for abolishing it ? Is it not manifest, that they have been treated by their Confederates, exactly after the same Manner, as they were by King *James II* ; made Instruments to ruin the Church, not for their own Sakes, but under a pretended Project of universal Freedom in Opinion, to advance the dark Designs of those who employ them ? For, excepting the *Antimonarchical Principle*, and a few false Notions about *Liberty*,

ty, I see but little Agreement betwixt them ; and even in these, I believe it would be impossible to contrive a Frame of Government, that would please them all, if they had it now in their Power to try. But, however, to be sure, the *Presbyterian* Institution would never obtain. For, suppose they should, in Imitation of their Predecessors, propose to have no King but our Saviour Christ ; the whole Clan of *Free-thinkers* would immediately object, and refuse his Authority. Neither would their *Low-Church* Brethren use them better, as well knowing what Enemies they are to that Doctrine of unlimited Toleration, wherever they are suffered to preside. So that upon the Whole, I do not see, as their present Circumstances stand, where the *Dissenters* can find better Quarter, than from the Church of *England*.

BESIDES, I leave it to their Consideration, whether, with all their Zeal against the Church, they ought not to shew a little Decency ; and how far it consists with their Reputation, to act in concert with such Confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous Proceeding in the present most *Christian King*, to assist the *Turk* against the *Emperor* : Policy, and Reasons of State, were not allowed sufficient Excuses for taking Part with an *Infidel* against a *Believer*. It is one of the *Dissenters* Quarrels against the Church, that She is not enough reformed from Popery ; yet they boldly entered into a League with *Papists* and a *Popish Prince*, to destroy Her. They profess much Sanctity, and object against the wicked Lives of some of our Members ; yet, they have been long, and still continue, in strict Combination with *Libertines* and *Atheists*, to contrive our Ruin. What if the *Jews* should multiply, and become a formidable Party among us ? Would the

the *Dissenters* join in Alliance with them likewise, because they agree already in some general Principles, and because the *Jews* are allowed to be a *stiff-necked and rebellious People*?

IT is the Part of wise Men to conceal their Passions, when they are not in Circumstances of exerting them to Purpose: The Arts of getting Power, and preserving Indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reasonable Hopes of the *Dissenters*, seem to be at an End; their Comrades, the *Whigs* and *Free-thinkers*, are just in a Condition proper to be forsaken; and the Parliament, as well as the Body of the People, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a Cause to be exhausted and worn out, as that of the *Whigs* in general, seems at present to be: The Nation hath felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed Interest, as for a Man of Sixty to talk of entering on a new Scene of Life, that is only proper for Youth and Vigour. New Circumstances and new Men must arise, as well as new Occasions, which are not like to happen in our Time. So, that the *Dissenters* have no Game left, at present, but to secure their *Indulgence*: In order to which, I will be so bold to offer them some Advice.

FIRST, That until some late Proceedings be a little forgot, they would take Care not to provoke, by any Violence of Tongue or Pen, so great a Majority, as there is now against them; nor keep up any longer that Combination with their broken Allies; but disperse themselves, and lie dormant against some better Opportunity: I have shewn, they could have got no Advantage if the late Party had prevailed; they will certainly lose none by its Fall, unless through their own Fault. They pretend a mighty Veneration for the **QUEEN**, let them

them give Proof of it, by quitting the ruined Interest of those who have used her so ill; and by a due Respect to the Persons she is pleased to trust at present with her Affairs: When they can no longer hope to govern, when struggling can do them no good, and may possibly hurt them; what is left but to be silent and passive?

SECONDLY, Although there be no Law (beside that of God Almighty) against *Occasional Conformity*; it would be Prudence in the *Dissenters* to use it as tenderly as they can: For, besides the infamous Hypocrisy of the Thing itself; too frequent Practice would perhaps make a Remedy necessary. And after all they have said to justify themselves in this Point, it still continues hard to conceive, how those Consciences can pretend to be scrupulous, upon which an Employment hath more Power than the Love of Unity.

IN the last Place, I am humbly of Opinion, That the *Dissenters* would do well to drop that *Lesson* they have learned from their Directors, of affecting to be under horrible Apprehensions, that the *Tories* are in the Interests of the *Pretender*, and would be ready to embrace the first Opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worst Grace in the World, that they offer to join in the Cry upon this Article: As if those, who *alone* stood in the Gap against all the Encroachments of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, are not more likely to keep out both, than a Sett of *Schismatics*, who to gratify their Ambition and Revenge did, by the meanest Compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate Prince, to fall upon such Measures, as must, at last, have ended in the Ruin of our Liberty and Religion.

I wish those who give themselves the trouble to write to the Examiner, would consider whether what they send be proper for such a Paper to take notice of: I had one Letter last Week, written, as I suppose, by a Divine, to desire I would offer some Reasons against a Bill now before the Parliament for Ascertaining the Tythe of Hops; from which the Writer apprehends great Damage to the Clergy, especially the poorer Vicars: If it be, as he says (and he seems to argue very reasonably upon it) the Convocation now sitting, will, no doubt, upon due Application, represent the Matter to the House of Commons; and he may expect all Justice and Favour from that Great Body, who have already appeared so tender of their Rights.

A Gentleman, likewise, who hath sent me several Letters, relating to Personal Hardships he received from some of the late Ministry; is advised to publish a Narrative of them; they being too large, and not proper for this Paper.

No. 37. Thursday, April 19, 1711.

Semper cause eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa.

I AM glad to observe, that several among the Whigs have begun very much to change their Language of late. The Style is now among the reasonable Part of them, when they meet a Man in Business, or a Member of a Parliament; *Well, Gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we shall no longer have any Pretence to complain.* They find, it seems, that there have been yet no Overtures made

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to

to bring in the *Pretender*, nor any preparatory Steps towards it. They read no enslaving Votes, nor Bills brought in to endanger the Subject. The Indulgence to scrupulous Consciences, is again confirmed from the Throne, inviolably preserved, and not the least Whisper offered that may affect it. All Care is taken to support the War; Supplies chearfully granted, and Funds readily subscribed to, in spite of the little Arts made use of to discredit them. The just Resentments of some, which are laudable in themselves, and which at another Juncture it might be proper to give way to, have been softened or diverted by the Calmnes of others. So that upon the Article of present Management, I do not see how any Objection of Weight can well be raised.

HOWEVER, our Adversaries still alledge, that this great Success was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable View. That, in publick Affairs, we ought, least of all others, to judge by Events; That, the Attempt of changing a Ministry, during the Difficulties of a long War, was rash and inconsiderate: That, if the QUEEN were disposed by her Inclinations, or from any personal Dislike, for such a Change, it might have been done with more Safety in a Time of Peace: That, if it had miscarried by any of those Incidents, which in all Appearance might have intervened, the Consequences would perhaps have ruined the whole Confederacy; and therefore, however it hath now succeeded, the Experiment was too dangerous to try.

BUT this is what we can by no means allow them. We never will admit Rashness or Chance to have produced all this Harmony and Order. It is visible to the World, that the several Steps towards this Change were slowly taken, and with the utmost Caution. The *Movers* observed as they went on, how

how Matters would bear ; and advanced no farther at first, than so as they might be able to stop or go back, if Circumstances were not mature. Things were grown to such a Height, that it was no longer the Question, whether a Person who aimed at an Employment were a *Whig* or a *Tory* ; much less, whether he had Merit or proper Abilities for what he pretended to : He must owe his Preferment only to the Favourites ; and the Crown was so far from *Nominating*, that they would not allow it a *Negative*. This, the *QUEEN* was resolved no longer to endure ; and began to break into their *Prescription*, by bestowing one or two Places of Consequence, without consulting her *Ephori* ; after they had fixed them for others, and concluded as usually, that all their Business was to signify their Pleasure to her Majesty. But, although the Persons the *QUEEN* had chosen, were such as no Objection could well be raised against, upon the Score of Party, yet the *Oligarchy* took the Alarm ; their Sovereign Authority was, it seems, called in Question ; they grew into Anger and Discontent, as if their undoubted Rights were violated. All former Obligations to their Sovereign now became cancelled ; and they put themselves upon the Foot of People, who were hardly used after the most eminent Services.

I BELIEVE, all Men who know any thing in Politicks, will agree, that a Prince thus treated by those he hath most confided in, and perpetually loaded with his Favours, ought to extricate himself as soon as possible ; and is then only blameable in his Choice of Time, when he defers one Minute after it is in his Power ; because, from the monstrous Encroachments of exorbitant Avarice and Ambition, he cannot tell how long it may continue

nue to be so. And it will be found, upon enquiring into History, that most of those Princes, who have been ruined by Favourites, have owed their Misfortunes to the neglect of early Remedies; deferring to struggle until they were quite funk.

THE *Whigs* are every Day cursing the ungovernable Rage, the haughty Pride, and unsatiable Covetousness of a *certain Person*, as the Cause of their Fall; and are apt to tell their Thoughts, that *one single Removal* might have set all Things right. But the Interests of that *single Person* were found upon Experience, so complicated and woven with the rest, by *Love*, by *Awe*, by *Marriage*, by *Alliance*; that they would rather confound Heaven and Earth, than dissolve such an Union.

I HAVE always heard and understood, that a King of *England*, possessed of his People's Hearts; at the Head of a Free Parliament, and in full Agreement with a great Majority, made the true Figure in the World that such a Monarch ought to do; and pursued the real Interest of himself and his Kingdom. Will they allow her Majesty to be in those Circumstances at present? And was it not plain by the Addresses sent from all Parts of the Island, and by the visible Disposition of the People, that such a Parliament would undoubtedly be chosen? And so it proved, without the Court's using any Arts to influence Elections.

WHAT People then, are these in a Corner, to whom the Constitution must truckle? If the whole Nation's Credit cannot supply Funds for the War, without humble Application from the entire Legislature to a few *Retailers* of Money; it is high time we should sue for a Peace. What new Maxims are these, which neither we nor our Forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise Institution would

would ever allow? Must our Laws from henceforward pass the *Bank* and *East-India* Company, or have their *Royal Assent* before they are in Force?

To hear some of these worthy Reasoners talking of *Credit*; that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious; you would think they were describing a Lady troubled with Vapours or the Cholick, to be only removed by a *Course of Steel*, or *swallowing a Bullet*. By the narrownes of their Thoughts, one would imagine they conceived the World to be no wider than *Exchange-Alley*. It is probable *They* may have such a sickly Dame among them; and it is well if she hath no worse Diseases, considering what Hands she passes through. But, the *National Credit* is of another Complexion; of sound Health, and an even Temper; her Life and Existence being a *Quintessence* drawn from the Vitals of the whole Kingdom. And we find these *Money-Politicians*, after all their Noise, to be of the same Opinion, by the Court they paid her, when she lately appeared to them in the Form of a *Lottery*.

As to that mighty Error in Politicks they charge upon the *QUEEN*, for changing her Ministry in the Height of a War, I suppose it is only looked upon as an Error under a *Whiggish Administration*; otherwise the late King had much to answser for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late Ministry, of *famous Memory*, was brought in during the present War; only with this Circumstance, that two or three of the Chief did first change their own Principles, and then took in suitable Companions.

BUT however, I see no Reason why the *Tories* should not value their Wisdom by Events, as well as the *Whigs*. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate rash Council, than that of *altering the*

Coin at the Juncture it was done ; yet the Prudence of the Undertaking was sufficiently justified by the Success. Perhaps it will be said, that the Attempt was necessary, because the whole Species of Money was so grievously clipped and counterfeit. And, is not her Majesty's Authority as Sacred as her *Coin* ? And hath not that been most scandalously clipped and mangled ; and often counterfeited too ?

IT is another grievous Complaint of the *Whigs*, that their late Friends, and the whole Party, are treated with Abundance of Severity in Print ; and in particular by the *Examiner*. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of Power, hated by the People, and out of all Hope of re-establishing themselves ; their Infirmitiess should be so often displayed, in order to render them yet more odious to Mankind. This is what they employ their Writers to set forth in their Papers of the Week ; and it is humoursome enough to observe one Page taken up in railing at the *Examiner* for his Invectives against a discarded Ministry ; and the other Side filled with the falsest and vilest Abuses, against those who are now in the highest Power and Credit with their Sovereign ; and whose least Breath would scatter them into Silence and Obscurity. However, although I have indeed often wondered to see so much Licentiousness taken and connived at, and am sure it would not be suffered in any other Country of Christendom ; yet, I never once invoked the Assistance of the *Goal* or the *Pillory*, which upon the least Provocation, was the usual Style during their Tyranny. There hath not passed a Week these twenty Years without some malicious Paper scattered in every Coffee-House by the Emissaries of that Party, whether it were *down* or

or up. I believe, they will not pretend to object the same Thing to us. Nor do I remember any constant weekly Paper, with Reflections on the late Ministry or Junta. They have many weak, defenceless Parts; they have not been used to a regular Attack, and therefore it is, that they are so ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their Turn. So that they complain more of a few Months Truths from us, than we did of all their Lies, and for twice as many Years.

I CANNOT forbear observing upon this Occasion, that those worthy Authors I am speaking of, seem to me not fairly to represent the Sentiments of their Party; who, in disputing with us, do generally give up several of the late Ministry; and freely own many of their Failings. They confess the monstrous *Debt upon the Navy*, to have been caused by most scandalous Mismanagement: They allow the *Insolence of some*, and the *Avarice of others*, to have been insupportable: But these Gentlemen are most liberal in their Praises to those Persons, and upon those very Articles, where their wisest Friends give up the Point. They gravely tell us, that *such a one* was the most faithful Servant ever any Prince had; *another* the most dutiful, a third the most generous, and a fourth of the greatest Integrity. So that I look upon these Champions, rather as retained by a *Cabal* than a *Party*; which I desire the reasonable Men among them would please to consider,

No. 38. Thursday, April 26, 1711.

*Indignum est in eâ civitate, quæ legibus continetur,
discedi a legibus.*

I HAVE been often considering how it comes to pass, that the Dexterity of Mankind in Evil, should always outgrow, not only the Prudence and Caution of private Persons, but the continual Expedients of the wisest Laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a Knave to possess a greater Share of natural Wit or Genius, than an honest Man. I have known very notable Sharpers at Play, who upon all other Occasions, were as great Dunces, as human Shape can well allow; and, I believe, the same might be observed among the other Knots of Thieves and Pick-pockets about this Town. The Proposition however is certainly true, and to be confirmed by an hundred Instances. A Scrivener, an Attorney, a Stock-Jobber, and many other *Retailers of Fraud*, shall not only be able to over-reach others, much wiser than themselves; but find out new Inventions, to elude the Force of any Law made against them. I suppose the Reason of this may be, that as the *Aggressor* is said to have generally the Advantage of the *Defender*; so, the Makers of the Law, which is to defend our Rights, have usually not so much Industry or Vigour, as those whose Interest leads them to attack it. Besides, it rarely happens that Men are rewarded by the Publick for their Justice and Virtue; neither do those who act upon such Principles, expect any Recompence

Recompence until the next World : Whereas Fraud, where it succeeds, gives present Pay ; and this is allowed the greatest Spur imaginable both to Labour and Invention. When a Law is made to stop some growing Evil, the Wits of those, whose Interest it is to break it with Secrecy or Impunity, are immediately at Work ; and even among those who pretend to fairer Characters, many would gladly find Means to avoid, what they would not be thought to violate. They desire to reap the Advantage, if possible, without the Shame, or, at least, without the Danger. This Art is what I take that dextrous Race of Men, sprung up soon after the Revolution, to have studied with great Application ever since ; and to have arrived at great Perfection in it. According to the Doctrine of some *Romish* Casuists, they have found out *Quam prope ad peccatum sine peccato possint accedere.* They can tell how to go within an Inch of an Impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what Degree of Corruption will just forfeit an Employment, and whether the Bribe you receive be sufficient to set you right, and put something in your Pocket besides. How much, to a Penny, you may safely cheat the *QUEEN*, whether forty, fifty, or sixty *per Cent.* according to the Station you are in, and the Dispositions of the Persons in Office, below and above you. They have computed the Price you may securely take or give for a Place, or what Part of the Salary you ought to reserve. They can discreetly distribute five hundred Pounds in a small Borough, without any Danger from the Statutes, against bribing Elections. They can manage a Bargain for an Office, by a third, fourth, or fifth Hand ; so that you shall not know whom to accuse ; they can win a thousand Guineas at Play, in spight of

the Dice, and send away the Loser satisfied : They can pass the most exorbitant Accounts, overpay the Creditor with half his Demands, and sink the rest.

It would be endless to relate, or rather indeed impossible to discover, the several Arts which curious Men have found out to enrich themselves, by defrauding the Publick, in defiance of the Law. The military Men, both by Sea and Land, have equally cultivated this most useful Science : Neither hath it been altogether neglected by the other Sex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an Instance, that would make ours blush to be so far out-done.

BESIDES, to confess the Truth, our Laws themselves are extreamly defective in many Articles, which I take to be one ill Effect of our best Possession, Liberty. Some Years ago, the Ambassador of a great Prince was arrested, and Outrages committed on his Person in our Streets, without any Possibility of Redress from *Westminster-Hall*, or the Prerogative of the Sovereign ; and the Legislature was forced to provide a Remedy against the like Evil in Times to come. A Commissioner of the stamped Paper was lately discovered to have notoriously cheated the Publick of great Sums for many Years, by counterfeiting the Stamps, which the Law had made Capital : But the Aggravation of his Crime, proved to be the Cause that saved his Life ; and that additional heightning Circumstance of betraying his Trust, was found to be a legal Defence. I am assured, that the notorious Cheat of the Brewers at *Portsmouth*, detected about two Months ago in Parliament, cannot by any Law now in Force be punished in a Degree, equal to the Guilt and Infamy of it. Nay, what is almost incredible, had *Guiscard* survived his detestable Attempt

tempt upon Mr. *Harley's* Person, all the inflaming Circumstances of the Fact, would not have sufficed, in the Opinion of many Lawyers, to have punished him with Death; and the Publick must have lain under this *Dilemma*, either to condemn him by a Law, *ex post Facto* (which would have been of dangerous Consequence, and from an ignominious Precedent) or undergo the Mortification to see the greatest Villain upon Earth escape unpunished, to the infinite Triumph and Delight of *Popery* and *Faction*. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we consider, that of all the Insolences offered to the *QUEEN* since the Act of Indemnity, (at least, that ever came to my Ears) I can hardly instance above two or three, which, by the Letter of the Law could amount to High Treason.

FROM these Defects in our Laws, and the Want of some discretionary Power safely lodged, to exert upon Emergencies; as well as from the great Requirements of able Men, to elude the Penalties of those Laws they break; it is no wonder that the Injuries done to the Publick are so seldom redressed. But besides, no Individual suffers, by any Wrong he doth to the Commonwealth, in Proportion to the Advantage he gains by doing it. There are seven or eight Millions who contribute to the Loss, while the whole Gain is sunk among a few. The Damage suffered by the Publick, is not so immediately or heavily felt by particular Persons; and the Zeal of Prosecution is apt to drop and be lost among Numbers.

BUT, imagine a Set of Politicians for many Years at the Head of Affairs, the Game visibly their own, and by Consequence acting with great Security; may not these be sometimes tempted to forget their Caution, by length of Time, by excess of

Avarice and Ambition, by the Insolence or Violence of their Nature, or perhaps by a meer Contempt for their Adversaries? May not such Motives as these put them often upon Actions directly against the Law, such as no Evasions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the Vengeance of a prevailing Interest, whenever they are out of Power? It is answered in the Affirmative. And here we cannot refuse the late Ministry their due Praises; who foreseeing a Storm, provided for their own Safety by two admirable Expedients, by which, with great Prudence, they have escaped the Punishments due to pernicious Councils and corrupt Management. The first, was to procure, under Pretences hardly specious, a general Act of Indemnity, which cuts off all Impeachments. The second, was yet more refined: Suppose, for Instance, a Counsel is to be pursued, which is necessary to carry on the dangerous Designs of a prevailing Party, to preserve them in Power, to gratify the unmeasurable Appetites of a few *Leaders*, Civil and Military, although by hazarding the Ruin of the whole Nation: This Counsel, desperate in it self, unprecedented in the Nature of it, they procure a Majority to form into an Address, which makes it look like the Sense of the Nation. Under that Shelter they carry on the Work, and lie secure against After-reckonings.

I MUST be so free to tell my Meaning in this; that among other Things, I understand it of the Address made to the QUEEN about three Years ago, to desire that her Majesty would not consent to a Peace, without the entire Restitution of *Spain*. A Proceeding, which to People abroad, must look like the highest Strain of Temerity, Folly, and Gasconade. But we at home, who allow the Promoters of

of that Advice to be no Fools, can easily comprehend the Depth and Mystery of it. They were assured by this Means, to pin down the War upon us ; consequently to increase their own Power and Wealth, and multiply Difficulties on the **QUEEN** and Kingdom, until they had fixed their Party too firmly to be shaken, whenever they should find themselves disposed to reverse their *Addres*, and give us Leave to wish for a *Peace*.

IF any Man entertain a more favourable Opinion of this monstrous Step in Politicks, I would ask him what we must do, in Case we find it impossible to recover *Spain*? Those among the *Whigs* who believe a GOD, will confess, that the Events of War lie in his Hands ; and the rest of them, who acknowledge no such Power, will allow, that *Fortune* hath too great a Share in the good or ill Success of Military Actions, to let a wise Man reason upon them, as if they were entirely in his Power. If Providence shall think fit to refuse Success to our Arms ; with how ill a Grace, with what Shame and Confusion shall we be obliged to recant that precipitate *Addres*, unless the World will be so charitable to consider, that Parliaments among us, differ as much as Princes ; and, that by the fatal Conjunction of many unhappy Circumstances, it is very possible for our Island to be represented some Times by those who have the least Pretensions? So little Truth or Justice there is in what some pretend to advance, that the Actions of former Senates, ought always to be treated with respect by the latter ; that those Assemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another : By which Argument, the Parliament that began the Rebellion against King *Charles the First*, voted his

Tryal,

Tryal, and appointed his Murderers, ought to be remembered with Respect.

BUT to return from this Digression; it is very plain, that considering the Defectiveness of our Laws, the Variety of Cases, the Weakness of the Prerogative, the Power or the Cunning of ill-de-signing Men, it is possible, that many great Abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished: Especially, if we add to this, that some Enquiries might probably involve those, whom upon other Accounts, it is not thought convenient to disturb. Therefore, it is very false Reasoning, especially in the Management of Publick Affairs, to argue that Men are innocent, because the Law hath not pronounced them guilty.

I AM apt to think, it was to supply such Defects as these, that Satyr was first introduced into the World; whereby those whom neither Religion, nor natural Virtue, nor fear of Punishment, were able to keep within the Bounds of their Duty, might be with-held by the Shame of having their Crimes exposed to open View in the strongest Colours, and themselves rendered odious to Mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by such hardened and abandoned Natures as I have to deal with; but, next to taming or binding a Savage-Animal, the best Service you can do the Neighbourhood, is to give them warning, either to arm themselves, or not come in its Way.

COULD I have hoped for any Signs of Remorse from the Leaders of that Faction, I should very gladly have changed my Style, and forgot or passed by their Million of Enormities. But they are every Day more fond of discovering their impotent Zeal and Malice: Witness their Conduct in the

the City about a Fortnight ago, which had no other End imaginable, beside that of perplexing our Affairs, and endeavouring to make Things desperate, that themselves may be thought necessary. While they continue in this frantick Mood, I shall not forbear to treat them as they deserve ; that is to say, as the inveterate, irreconcilable Enemies to our Country and its Constitution.

No. 39. *Thursday, May 3, 1711.*

Quis tulerit Gracbos de seditione querentes?

THERE have been certain Topicks of Re-
proach, liberally bestowed for some Years
past, by the *Whigs* and *Tories* upon each other. We charge the former with a Design of destroying the *Established Church*, and introducing *Fanaticism* and *Free-thinking* in its Stead. We accuse them as Enemies to Monarchy ; as endeavouring to undermine the present Form of Government, and to build a Commonwealth, or some new Scheme of their own, upon its Ruins. On the other Side, their Clamours against us, may be summed up in those three formidable Words, *Popery*, *Arbitrary Power*, and the *Pretender*. Our Accusations against them we endeavour to make good by certain Overt-Acts ; such as their perpetually abusing the whole Body of the Clergy ; their declared Contempt for the very Order of Priesthood ; their Aversion against Episcopacy ; the publick Encouragement and Patronage they gave to *Tindall*, *Toland*, and other Atheistical Writers ; their appearing as professed Advocates, retained

retained by the Dissenters ; excusing their Separation, and laying the Guilt of it to the Obstinacy of the Church ; their frequent Endeavours to repeal the Test, and their setting up the Indulgence to scrupulous Consciences, as a Point of greater Importance than the established Worship. The Regard they bear to our *Monarchy*, hath appeared by their open ridiculing the *Martyrdom* of King *Charles the First*, in their *Calves-head Clubs*, their common Discourses and their Pamphlets : Their denying the unnatural War raised against that Prince, to have been a Rebellion ; their justifying his Murder in the allowed Papers of the Week ; their Industry in publishing and spreading Seditious and Republican Tracts ; such as *Ludlow's Memoirs*, *Sidney of Government*, and many others ; their endless lopping of the Prerogative, and mincing into nothing her Majesty's Titles to the Crown.

WHAT Proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce *Popery*, *Arbitrary Power*, and the *Pretender*, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear ; however, those important Words having, by dextrous Management, been found of mighty Service to their Cause, although applied with little Colour, either of Reason or Justice ; I have been considering whether they may not be adapted to more proper Objects.

As to *Popery*, which is the first of these ; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any Sett of Men among us, except the Professors of it, who have any direct Intention to introduce it here : But the Question is, whether the Principles and Practices of us, or the *Whigs*, be most likely to make Way for it ? It is allowed on all Hands, that among the Methods concerted at *Rome*, for bringing over *England* into the Bosom of the Catholick Church ; one of the Chief

Chief was, to send Jesuits and other Emissaries, in Lay-Habits ; who personating *Tradefmen* and *Mechanicks*, should mix with the People, and under the Pretence of a further and purer *Reformation*, endeavour to divide us into as many Sects as possible ; which would either put us under the Necessity of returning to our old Errors, to preserve *Peace* at home ; or by our *Divisions* make Way for some powerful Neighbour, with the Assistance of the Pope's Permission, and a consecrated Banner, to convert and *enslave* us at once. If this hath been reckoned good Politicks (and it was the best the *Jesuit-Schools* could invent) I appeal to any Man, whether the *Whigs*, for many Years past, have not been employed in the very same Work ? They professed on all Occasions, that they knew no Reason why any one System of *Speculative Opinions* (as they termed the Doctrines of the Church) should be established by Law more than another ; or why Employments should be confined to the Religion of the Magistrate, and that called the *Church Established*. The grand Maxim they laid down, was, That no Man, for the Sake of a few *Notions* and *Ceremonies*, under the Names of *Doctrine* and *Discipline*, should be denied the Liberty of serving his Country : As if Places would go a begging, unless *Brownists*, *Familists*, *Sweet-Singers*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptists* and *Muggletonians*, would take them off our Hands.

I HAVE been sometimes imagining this Scheme brought to Perfection, and how diverting it would look to see half a Dozen *Sweet-Singers* on the Bench in their Ermins, and two or three *Quakers* with their white Staves at Court. I can only say, this Project is the very Counter-part of the late King *James's* Design, which he took up as the best Method

thod for introducing his *own Religion*, under the Pretext of an *universal Liberty of Conscience*; and that no Difference in Religion should make any in his Favour. Accordingly, to save Appearances, he dealt some Employments among *Dissenters* of most Denominations; and what he did was, no doubt, in pursuance of the best Advice he could get at Home or Abroad; but the Church thought it the most dangerous Step he could take for her Destruction. It is true, King *James* admitted *Papists* among the rest, which the *Whigs* would not; but this is sufficiently made up by a material Circumstance, wherein they seem to have much out-done that Prince, and to have carried their *Liberty of Conscience* to a higher Point; having granted it to all the Classes of *Free-thinkers*, which the nice Conscience of a *Papish Prince* would not give him leave to do; and was therein mightily overseen; because it is agreed by the Learned, that there is but a very narrow Step from *Atheism*, to the other Extreme, *Superstition*. So that upon the whole, whether the *Whigs* had any real Design of bringing in *Popery* or no, it is very plain, that they took the most effectual Step towards it; and if the *Jesuits* had been their immediate Directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter Scholars.

THEIR second Accusation is, That we encourage and maintain Arbitrary Power in Princes; and promote enslaving Doctrines among the People. This they go about to prove by Instances, producing the particular Opinions of certain Divines in King *Charles the Second's Reign*; a Decree of *Oxford-University*, and some few Writers since the *Revolution*. What they mean is the Principle of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, which those who affirm, did, I believe, never intend should include *Arbitrary*

trary Power. However, although I am sensible that it is not reckoned prudent in a Dispute, to make any Concessions without the last Necessity; yet I do agree, that, in my own private Opinion, some Writers did carry that Tenet of *Passive-Obedience* to a Height, which seemed hardly consistent with the Liberties of a Country, whose Laws can be neither enacted nor repealed, without the Consent of the whole People, I mean not those who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is to the Legislature; but such as fix it entirely in the Prince's Person. This last hath, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the *Whigs* quote Authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a Duty in general, without applying it to Princes, abstracted from their Senate.

By thus freely declaring my own Sentiments of *Passive-Obedience*, it will at last appear, that I do not write for a Party: Neither do I, upon any Occasion, pretend to speak their Sentiments, but my own. The Majority of the two Houses, and the present Ministry (if those be a Party) seem to me, in all their Proceedings, to pursue the real Interest of Church and State: And if I shall happen to differ from particular Persons among them, in a single Notion about Government, I suppose they will not, upon that Account, explode me and my Paper. However, as an Answer once for all, to the tedious Scurrilities of those idle People, who affirm, I am hired and directed what to write; I must here inform them, that their *Censure* is an Effect of their *Principles*: The present Ministry are under no Necessity of employing prostitute Pens; they have no dark Designs to promote, by advancing *Heterodox Opinions.*

BUT,

BUT, (to return) suppose two or three private Divines, under King *Charles the Second*, did a little over-strain the *Doctrine of Passive-Obedience* to Princes; some Allowance might be given to the Memory of that *unnatural Rebellion* against his Father, and the dismal Consequences of *Resistance*. It is plain, by the Proceedings of the Churchmen before and at the Revolution, that this Doctrine was never designed to introduce arbitrary Power.

I LOOK upon the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* to be exactly of the same political Faith; let us, therefore, see what Share each of them had in advancing *Arbitrary Power*. It is manifest, that the *Fanaticks* made *Cromwell* the most absolute Power in *Christendom*: The *Rump* abolished the *House of Lords*; the *Army* abolished the *Rump*; and by this Army of *Saints* he governed. The *Dissenters* took Liberty of Conscience and Employments from the late King *James*, as an Acknowledgment of his *dispensing Power*; which makes the King of *England* as absolute as the *Turk*. The *Whigs*, under the late King, perpetually declared for keeping up a standing Army in Times of Peace; which hath in all Ages been the first and great Step to the Ruin of Liberty. They were, besides, discovering every Day their Inclinations to destroy the Rights of the Church; and declared their Opinion in all Companies, against Bishops sitting in the *House of Peers*; which was exactly copying after their Predecessors of *Forty One*. I need not say, their real Intentions were to make the King absolute; but whatever be the Designs of innovating Men, they usually end in a Tyranny: As we may see by an hundred Examples in *Greece*, and in the later Commonwealths of *Italy* mentioned by *Machiavel*.

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IN the third Place, the *Whigs* accuse us of a Design to bring in the *Pretender*; and to give it a greater Air of Probability, they suppose the *QUEEN* to be a Party in this Design; which, however, is no very extraordinary Supposition in those who have advanced such singular Paradoxes concerning *Greg* and *Guiscard*. Upon this Article their Charge is general, without ever offering to produce an Instance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no Paradox, that if ever he be brought in, the *Whigs* are his Men. For, first, it is an undoubted Truth, that a Year or two after the *Revolution*, several Leaders of that Party had their Pardons sent them by the late King *James*; and had entered upon Measures to restore him, on Account of some Disobligations they received from King *William*. Besides, I would ask, whether those who are under the greatest Ties of Gratitude to King *James*, are not at this Day become the most zealous *Whigs*? And of what Party those are now, who kept a long Correspondence with St. *Germain*?

IT is likewise very observable of late, that the *Whigs* upon all Occasions, profess their Belief of the *Pretender*'s being no *Impostor*, but a real *Prince*, born of the late *QUEEN*'s Body: Which, whether it be true or false, is very unseasonably advanced, considering the Weight such an Opinion must have with the *Vulgar*, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the *Pretender* himself puts his chief Hopes in the Friendship he expects from the *Dissenters* and *Whigs*; by his Choice to invade the Kingdom when the latter was most in Credit: And he had Reason to count upon the former, from the gracious Treatment they received from his supposed Father, and their joyful Acceptance of it. But further; what could be more

consistent with the *Whiggish* Notion of a *Revolution-Principle*, than to bring in the *Pretender*? A *Revolution-Principle*, as their Writings and Discourses have taught us to define it, is a Principle perpetually disposing Men to *Revolutions*: And this is suitable to the famous Saying of a great *Whig*, *That the more Revolutions the better*; which how odd a Maxim soever in Appearance, I take to be the true Characteristick of the Party.

A Dog loves to turn round often; yet after certain *Revolutions*, he lies down to *Rest*: But Heads, under the Dominion of the *Moon*, are for perpetual *Changes*, and perpetual *Revolutions*: Besides, the *Whigs* owe all their Wealth to *Wars* and *Revolutions*; like the Girl at *Bartholemew-Fair*, who gets a Penny by turning round a hundred Times, with Swords in her Hands.

To conclude, the *Whigs* have a natural Faculty of bringing in *Pretenders*, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great One at last: How many *Pretenders* to Wit, Honour, Nobility, Politicks, have they brought in these last twenty Years? In short, they have been sometimes able to procure a Majority of *Pretenders* in Parliament; and wanted nothing to render the Work compleat, except a *Pretender* at their Head.

No. 40. Thursday, May 10, 1711.

Dos est magna parentium virtus.

I TOOK up a Paper some Days ago in a Coffee-House ; and if the Correctness of the Style, and a superior Spirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine, I had been reading an *Examiner*. In this Paper there were several important Propositions advanced. For Instance, That *Providence raised up Mr. Harley to be an Instrument of great Good, in a very critical Juncture, when it was much wanted.* That, his very Enemies acknowledge his eminent Abilities, and distinguishing Merit, by their unwearied and restless Endeavours against his Person and Reputation : That, they have had an inveterate Malice against both : That, he hath been wonderfully preserved from some unparalleled Attempts ; with more to the same Purpose. I immediately computed by Rules of Arithmetick, that in the last cited Words there was something more intended than the Attempt of *Guiscard*, which I think can properly pass but for *One* of the *Some*. And, although I dare not pretend to guess the Author's Meaning, yet the Expression allows such a Latitude, that I would venture to hold a Wager, most Readers, both *Whig* and *Tory*, have agreed with me, that this Plural Number must in all Probability, among other Facts, take in the Business of *Greg*.

SEE now the Difference of Styles. Had I been to have told my Thoughts on this Occasion ; instead

stead of saying how Mr. Harley was treated by some Persons, and preserved by some unparallelled Attempts, I should, with intolerable Bluntness and ill Manners, have told a formal Story, of a Committee sent to a condemned Criminal in Newgate, to bribe him with a Pardon, on Condition he would swear High Treason against his Master; who discovered his Correspondence, and secured his Person, when a certain grave Politician had given him Warning to make his Escape: And by this Means I should have drawn a whole Swarm of Hedge-Writers to exhaust their Catalogue of Scurrilities against me as a Lyar, and a Slanderer. But with Submission to the Author of that forementioned Paper, I think he hath carried that Expression to the utmost it will bear: For, after all this Noise, I know of but two Attempts against Mr. Harley, that can really be called unparallelled; which are those aforesaid of Greg and Guiscard: For, as to the rest, I will engage to parallel them from the Story of Cataline, and others I could produce.

HOWEVER, I cannot but observe with infinite Pleasure, that a great Part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing Faction, and for affirming which, I have been adorned with so many decent Epithets, hath been sufficiently confirmed at several Times, by the Resolutions of one or the other House of Parliament. I may therefore now say, I hope, with good Authority, that there have been some unparallelled Attempts against Mr. Harley. That, the late Ministry were justly to blame in some Management, which occasioned the unfortunate Battle of Almanza, and the Disappointment at Toulon. That, the Publick hath been grievously wronged by most notorious Frauds, during the Wbig Administration. That, those who advised the bringing

bringing in the *Palatines*, were Enemies to the Kingdom. That, the late Managers of the Revenue have not duly passed their Accounts, for a great Part of thirty five Millions; and ought not to be trusted in such Employments any more. Perhaps in a little Time I may venture to affirm some other Paradoxes of this kind, and produce the same Vouchers. And perhaps also, if it had not been so busy a Period, instead of one *Examiner*, the late Ministry might have had above four hundred, each of whose little Fingers would be heavier than my Loins. It makes me think of *Neptune's Threat to the Winds*; *Quos ego—sed motos prestat componere fluctus.* Thus, when the Sons of *Æolus* had almost sunk the Ship with the Tempests they raised, it was necessary to smooth the Ocean, and secure the Vessel, instead of pursuing the Offenders.

BUT, I observe the general Expectation at present, instead of dwelling any longer upon Conjectures who is to be punished for past Miscarriages, seems bent upon the Rewards intended to those who have been so highly instrumental in rescuing our Constitution from its late Dangers. It is the Observation of *Tacitus*, in the Life of *Agricola*, that his eminent Services had raised a general Opinion of his being designed, by the Emperor, for *Prætor of Britain*. *Nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur:* And then he adds, *Non semper errat Fama, aliquando & eligit.* The Judgment of a wise Prince, and the general Disposition of the People, do often point at the same Person; and sometimes the popular Wishes do even foretel the Reward intended for some superior Merit. Thus, among several deserving Persons, there are Two, whom the publick Vouge hath in a peculiar Manner singled out, as designed very soon to receive

the choicest Marks of the Royal Favour. One of them to be placed in a very high Station, and *Both* to increase the Number of our Nobility. This, I say, is the general Conjecture ; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled ; since it is enough for their Honour, that the Nation thinks them worthy of the greatest Rewards.

UPON this Occasion I cannot but take Notice, That of all the Heresies in Politicks, profusely scattered by the Partisans of the *late Administration*, none ever displeased me more, or seemed to have more dangerous Consequences to *Monarchy*, than that pernicious Talent so much affected, of discovering a Contempt for *Birth*, *Family*, and *ancient Nobility*. All the Threadbare Topicks of *Poets* and *Orators* were displayed to discover to us, that *Merit* and *Virtue* were the only *Nobility* ; and that the Advantages of *Blood* could not make a *Knave* or a *Fool* either *Honest* or *Wise*. Most popular Commotions we read of in Histories of *Greece* and *Rome*, took their Rise from unjust Quarrels to the *Nobles* ; and in the latter, the *Plebeians* Encroachments on the *Patricians*, were the first Cause of their Ruin.

SUPPOSE there be nothing but *Opinion* in the Difference of *Blood* ; every Body knows, that *Authority* is very much founded on *Opinion*. But surely, that Difference is not wholly imaginary. The Advantages of a liberal Education, of chusing the best Companions to converse with ; not being under the Necessity of practising little mean Tricks by a scanty Allowance ; the enlarging of Thought, and acquiring the Knowledge of Men and Things by Travel ; the Example of Ancestors inciting to great and good Actions. These are usually some of the Opportunities that fall in the Way of those who are born, of what we call the better Families ; and,

and, allowing *Genius* to be equal in them and the *Vulgar*, the Odds are clearly on their Side. Nay, we may observe in some, who by the Appearance of Merit, or Favour of Fortune, have risen to great Stations, from an obscure Birth, that they have still retained some sordid Vices of their *Parentage* or *Education*, either *insatiable Avarice*, or *ignominious Falshood* and *Corruption*.

To say the Truth, the great Neglect of Education in several noble Families, whose Sons are suffered to pass the most improveable Seasons of their Youth in Vice and Idleness, have too much lessened their Reputation: But, even this Misfortune we owe, among all the rest, to that *Whiggish* Practice of reviling the *Universities*, under the Pretence of their instilling *Pedantry*, *narrow Principles*, and *High-Church Doctrines*.

I WOULD not be thought to undervalue *Merit* and *Virtue*, where ever they are to be found; but will allow them capable of the highest Dignities in a State, when they are in a very great Degree of Eminence. A Pearl holds its Value although it be found in a Dunghill; but however, that is not the most probable Place to search for it. Nay, I will go farther, and admit, that a Man of Quality without *Merit*, is just so much the worse for his Quality; which at once sets his Vices in a more publick View, and reproacheth him for them. But on the other Side, I doubt, those who are always undervaluing the Advantages of Birth, and celebrating personal Merit, have principally an Eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which no Body will dispute with them about; whereas they cannot, without Impudence and Folly, pretend to be nobly born; because this is a Secret too easily discovered: For, no Mens *Parentage* is so nicely enquired

quired into, as that of assuming Upstarts ; especially when they affect to make it better than it is, as they often do ; or behave themselves with Insolence.

BUT whatever may be the Opinion of others upon this Subject, whose Philosophical Scorn for *Blood* and *Families* reacheth even to those that are *Royal*, or perhaps took its Rise from a *Whiggish* Contempt of the latter ; I am pleased to find two such Instances of extraordinary Merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable Birth ; which, whether it be of real or imaginary Value, hath been held in Veneration by all wise, polite States, both Ancient and Modern. And, as much a Foppery as Men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great Place or Wealth, from mean Originals, than their mighty Solitude to convince the World that they are not so low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out by some strained Genealogy, that they have a remote Alliance with better Families. *Cromwell* himself was pleased with the Impudence of a Flatterer, who undertook to prove him descended from a Branch of the Royal Stem. I know a *Citizen* who adds or alters a Letter in his Name with every *Plumb* he acquires : He now wants only the Change of a * Vowel, to be allied to a Sovereign Prince in *Italy* ; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done, by a *Mistake* of the Graver upon his *Tombstone*.

WHEN I am upon this Subject of *Nobility*, I am sorry for the Occasion given me, to mention the Loss of a *Person* who was so great an Ornament to it, as the late † *Lord President* ; who began early to

* Sir H. FURNESE.
† Earl of ROCHESTER.

to distinguish himself in the *Publick Service*; and passed through the highest Employments of State, in the most difficult Times, with great Abilities and untainted *Honour*. As he was of a good old Age, his Principles of Religion and Loyalty had received no Mixture from *late Infusions*, but were instilled into him by his illustrious Father, and other noble Spirits, who had exposed their Lives and Fortunes for the *Royal Martyr*.

*Pulcherrima proles,
Magnanimi Heroes nati melioribus annis.*

His first great Action was, like *Scipio*, to defend his Father, when oppressed by Numbers; and his filial Piety was not only rewarded with long Life, but with a Son, who, upon the like Occasion, would have shewn the same Resolution. No Man ever preserved his Dignity better when he was out of Power, nor shewed more Affability while he was in. To conclude: His Character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is such, as his nearest Friends may safely trust to the most impartial Pen; nor wants the least of that Allowance which, they say, is required for those who are dead.

No. 41. Thursday, May 17, 1711.

— *Quem cur distingere conor,
Tutus ab infestis latronibus?*

I NEVER let slip an Opportunity of endeavouring to convince the World, that I am not Partial; and to confound the idle Reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in Defence of the present Ministry, or for detecting the Practices of the former. When I first undertook this Paper, I firmly resolved, that if ever I observed any gross Neglect, Abuse or Corruption in the publick Management, which might give any just Offence to reasonable People; I would take Notice of it with that innocent Boldnes which becometh an honest Man, and a true Lover of his Country; at the same Time preserving the Respect due to Persons so highly entrusted by so wise and excellent a QUEEN. I know not how such a Liberty might have been resented; but I thank GOD there hath been no Occasion given me to exercise it; for, I can safely affirm, that I have with the utmost Rigour examined all the Actions of the present Ministry, as far as they fall under general Cognizance, without being able to accuse them of one ill or mistaken Step. Observing indeed some Time ago, that Seeds of Diffention had been plentifully scattered from a *certain Corner*; and fearing they began to rise and spread, I immediately writ a Paper on the Subject; which I treated with that Warmth, I thought it required: But the Prudence of those at the

the Helm soon prevented this growing Evil; and at present it seems likely to have no Consequences.

I HAVE had indeed for some Time a small Occasion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconsiderable for a formal Subject of Complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But, it is grown at present to as great Height, as a Matter of that Nature can possibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high Time that an effectual Stop should be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming Licensiousness of several weekly Papers, which, for some Months past, have been chiefly employed in bare-faced Scurrilities against those who are in the greatest Trust and Favour with the *QUEEN*, with the first and last Letters of their Names frequently printed; or some Periphrasis describing their Station, or other Innuendos, contrived too plain to be mistaken. The Consequence of which is, (and it is natural it should be so) that their long Impunity hath rendered them still more audacious.

AT this Time I particularly intend a Paper called the *Medley*; whose indefatigable, incessant Railings against me, I never thought convenient to take Notice of, because it would have diverted my Design, which I intended to be of publick Use. Besides, I never yet observed that Writer, or those Writers, (for it is every Way a *Medley*) to argue against any one material Point or Fact that I had advanced; or make one fair Quotation. And after all, I knew very well how soon the World grows weary of Controversy. It is plain to me, that three or four Hands at least have been joined at Times in this worthy Composition; but the Out-lines, as well as the Finishing, seem to have been always the Work of the same Pen, as it is visible from half a score Beauties of Style inseparable from it. But

who

who these *Medlers* are, or where the judicious Leader have picked them up, I shall never go about to conjecture. Factious Rancour, false Wit, abandoned Scurrility, impudent Falshood, and fertile Pedantry, having so many Fathers, and so few to own them, that Curiosity her self would not be at the Pains to guess. It is the first Time I ever did my self the Honour to mention that admirable Paper: Nor could I imagine any Occasion likely to happen, that would make it necessary for me to engage with such an Adversary. This Paper is weekly published, and as appears by the Number, hath been so for several Months; and is next to the *Observator*, allowed to be the best Production of that Party. Last Week my Printer brought me that of *May 7*, Number 32, where there are two Paragraphs relating to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and to Mr. *Harley*; which, as little as I am inclined to engage with such an Antagonist, I cannot let pass, without failing in my Duty to the Publick: And, if those in Power will suffer such infamous Insinuations to pass with Impunity, they act without Precedent from any Age or Country of the World.

I DESIRE to open this Matter, and leave the *Whigs* themselves to determine upon it. The House of Commons resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, that the Speaker should congratulate Mr. *Harley's* Escape and Recovery in the Name of the House, upon his first Attendance on their Service. This is accordingly done; and the Speech, together with the Chancellor of the *Exchequer's*, are printed by Order of the House. The Author of the *Medley* takes this Speech to Task the very next Week after it is published; telling us, in the aforesaid Paper, *That the Speaker's commending Mr. Harley, for being*

ing an Instrument of great Good to the Nation, was ill-chosen Flattery; because Mr. Harley had brought the Nation under great Difficulties, to say no more: He says, that when the Speaker tells Mr. Harley, that Providence hath wonderfully preserved him from some unparalleled Attempts, (for that the Medley alludes to) he only revives a false and groundless Calumny upon other Men; which is an Instance of impotent, but inveterate Malice, that makes him [the Speaker] still appear more vile and contemptible. This is an Extract from his first Paragraph. In the next this Writer says, *That the Speaker's praying to God for the Continuance of Mr. Harley's Life, as an invaluable Blessing, was a fulsome Piece of Insincerity, which exposeth him to Shame and Derision; because he is known to bear ill Will to Mr. Harley; to have an extream bad Opinion of him, and to think him an Obstructor of those fine Measures he would bring about.*

I now appeal to the *Whigs* themselves, whether a great Minister of State, in high Favour with the **QUEEN**, and a *Speaker* of the House of Commons, were ever publickly treated after so extraordinary a Manner, in the most licentious Times? For, this is not a clandestine Libel stolen into the World, but openly printed and sold, with the Bookseller's Name and Place of Abode at the Bottom. And the Juncture is admirable, when Mr. Harley is generally believed upon the very Point to be made an *Earl*, and promoted to the most important Station of the Kingdom: Nay, the very Marks of Esteem he hath so lately received from the whole Representative Body of the People, are called *ill-chosen Flattery, and a fulsome Piece of Insincerity, exposing the Donors to Shame and Derision.*

DOES

DOES this intrepid Writer think he hath sufficiently disguised the Matter, by that stale Artifice of altering the Story, and putting it as a supposed Case? Did any Man who ever saw the Congratulatory Speech, read either of those Paragraphs in the *Medley*, without interpreting them just as I have done? Will the Author declare upon his great Sincerity, that he never had any such Meaning? Is it enough, that a Jury at *Westminster-Hall* would, perhaps, not find him guilty of defaming the *Speaker* and Mr. *Harley* in that Paper? Which, however, I am much in doubt of too; and must think the Law very defective, if the Reputation of such Persons must lie at the Mercy of such Pens. I do not remember to have seen any Libel, supposed to be writ with Caution and double Meaning, in order to prevent Prosecution, delivered under so thin a Cover, or so unartificially made up as this; whether it were from an Apprehension of his Reader's Dulness, or an Effect of his own. He hath transcribed the very Phrases of the *Speaker*, and put them in a different Character, for fear they might pass unobserved; and to prevent all Possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have Recourse to the old Evasion, and say, that I who make the Application, am chargeable with the Abuse: Let any Reader of either Party be Judge. But I cannot forbear asserting, as my Opinion, that for a Ministry to endure such open Calumny, without calling the Author to Account, is next to deserving it. And, this is an Omission I venture to charge upon the present Ministry, who are too apt to despise little Things, which however have not always little Consequences.

WHEN this Paper was first undertaken, one Design, among others, was, to *examine* some of those Writings

Writings so frequently published with an evil Tendency, either to Religion or Government ; but I was long diverted by other Enquiries, which I thought more immediately necessary ; to animadvert upon Mens Actions, rather than their Speculations ; to shew the Necessity there was of changing the Ministry, that our Constitution in Church and State might be preserved ; to expose some dangerous Principles and Practices under the former Administration ; and prove by many Instances, that those who are now at the Helm, are entirely in the true Interest of Prince and People. This I may modestly hope, hath in some Measure been already done, sufficient to answer the End proposed, which was to inform the Ignorant and those at Distance ; and to convince such as are not engaged in a Party, from no other Motives than that of Conscience. I know not whether I shall have any Appetite to continue this Work much longer ; if I do, perhaps some Time may be spent in exposing and overturning the false Reasonings of those who engage their Pens on the other Side ; without losing Time in vindicating my self against their Scurrilities, much less in retorting them. Of this Sort there is a certain humble Companion, a * *French Maitres des Langues*, who every Month publisheth an Extract from Votes, News-papers, Speeches and Proclamations, larded with some insipid Remarks of his own ; which he calls, *The Political State of Great-Britain* : This ingenious Piece he tells us himself, is constantly translated into *French*, and printed in *Holland*, where the *Dutch*, no doubt, conceive most noble Sentiments of us, conveyed through such a Vehicle. It is observable in his

Account

• One A. BOYER,

Account for *April*, that the Vanity, so predominant in many of his Nation, hath made him more concerned for the Honour of *Guiscard*, than the Safety of Mr. *Harley*: And for fear we should think the worse of his Country upon that *Affassin's* Account, he tells us, there have been more Murders, Parades and Villainies, committed in *England*, than any other Part of the World. I cannot imagine how an illiterate Foreigner, who is neither Master of our Language, or indeed of common Sense; and who is devoted to a Faction, I suppose, for no other Reason, but his having more *Whig*-Customers than *Tories*, should take it into his Head to write Politick Tracts of our Affairs. But I presume, he builds upon the Foundation of having been called to an Account for his Insolence in one of his former monthly Productions; which is a Method that seldom fails of giving some Vogue to the foolishest Composition. If such a Work must be done, I wish some tolerable Hand would undertake it; and that we would not suffer a little whiffing *Frenchman* to neglect his Trade of teaching his Language to our Children, and presume to instruct Foreigners in our Politicks.

No. 42. Thursday, May 24, 1711.

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane; donec templa refeceris,
Ædesq; labentes deorum; —*

SEVERAL Letters have been lately sent me, desiring I would make honourable mention of the

the pious Design of building fifty Churches, in several Parts of *London* and *Westminster*, where they are most wanted ; occasioned by an Address of the *Convocation* to the *QUEEN*, and recommended by her Majesty to the House of Commons ; who immediately promised, they *would enable* her to *accomplish so excellent a Design* ; and are now preparing a Bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any Notice of this important Affair until the End of this Session ; at which Time I proposed to deliver a particular Account of the great and useful Things already performed by this present Parliament. But in Compliance to those who give themselves the Trouble of advising me ; and partly convinced by the Reasons they offer ; I am content to bestow a Paper upon a Subject, that indeed so well deserveth it.

THE Clergy, and whoever else have a true Concern for the Constitution of the Church, cannot but be highly pleased with one Prospect in this new Scene of publick Affairs. They may very well remember the Time, when every Session of Parliament was like a Cloud hanging over their Heads ; and, if it happened to pass without bursting into some Storm upon the Church, we thanked God, and thought it an happy Escape, until the next Meeting ; upon which we resumed our secret Apprehensions, although we were not allowed to believe any Danger. Things are now altered ; the Parliament takes the Necessities of the Church into Consideration ; receives the Proposals of the Clergy met in Convocation ; and amidst all the Exigencies of a long expensive War, and under the Pressure of heavy Debts, finds a Supply for erecting fifty Edifices to the Service of God. And, it appears by the Address of the Commons to her Majesty upon

this Occasion, (wherein they discovered a true Spirit of Religion) that the applying the Money granted *to accomplish so excellent a Design*, would, in their Opinion, be the most effectual Way of carrying on the War: That, it would (to use their own Words) *be a Means of drawing down Blessings on her Majesty's Undertakings, as it adds to the Number of those Places, where the Prayers of her devout and faithful Subjects, will be daily offered up to God, for the Prosperity of her Government at Home, and the Success of her Arms Abroad.*

I AM sometimes hoping, that we are not naturally so bad a People, as we have appeared for some Years past. *Faction*, in order to support it self, is generally forced to make Use of such abominable Instruments, that as long as it prevails, the Genius of a Nation is over-pressed, and cannot appear to exert itself: But, when that is broke and suppressed; when Things return to the old Course; Mankind will naturally fall to act from Principles of Reason and Religion. The *Romans*, upon a great Victory, or Escape from publick Danger, frequently built a Temple in Honour of some God, to whose peculiar Favour they imputed their Success or Delivery: And sometimes the *General* did the like, *at his own Expence*, to acquit himself of some pious Vow he had made. How little of any Thing resembling this hath been done by us after all our Victories! And perhaps for that Reason, among others, they have turned to so little Account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God or his Providence; and therefore it was consistent to offer up our Edifices only to *Those*, whom we looked upon as *Givers of all Victory*, in his stead.

I HAVE computed, that Fifty Churches may be built by a Medium, at Six Thousand Pound for a Church ; which is somewhat *under* the Price of a *Subject's Palace* : Yet perhaps the Care of above two hundred thousand Souls, with the Benefit of their Prayers for the Prosperity of their *QUEEN* and Country, may be almost put in the Ballance with the domestick Convenience, or even Magnificence of any *Subject* whatsoever.

SIR *William Petty*, who under the Name of Captain *Graunt*, published some Observations upon Bills of Mortality about five Years after the *Restoration* ; tells us, the Parishes in *London* were even then so unequally divided, that some were two hundred times larger than others. Since that Time, the Encrease of Trade, the Frequency of Parliaments, the Desire of living in the Metropolis, together with that Genius for Building, which began after the *Fire*, and hath ever since continued ; have prodigiously enlarged this Town on all Sides, where it was capable of Encrease : And those Tracts of Land built into Streets, have generally continued of the same Parish they belonged to, while they lay in the Fields ; so that the Care of above thirty thousand Souls have been sometimes committed to one Minister, whose Church would hardly contain the twentieth Part of his Flock : Neither, I think, was any Family in those Parishes obliged to pay above a Groat a Year to their Spiritual Pastor. Some few of those Parishes have been since divided ; and others were erected Chappels of Ease, where a Preacher is maintained by general Contribution. Such poor Shifts and Expedients, to the infinite Shame and Scandal of so vast and flourishing a City, have been thought sufficient

ficient for the Service of God and Religion ; as if they were Circumstances wholly indifferent.

THIS Defect, among other Consequences of it, hath made *Schism* a Sort of necessary Evil ; there being at least three hundred thousand Inhabitants in this Town, whom the Churches would not be able to contain, if the People were ever so well disposed : And in a City not overstocked with Zeal, the only way to preserve any Degree of Religion, is to make all Attendance upon the Duties of it, as easy and cheap as possible : Whereas, on the contrary, in the larger Parishes, the Press is so great, and the Pew-keeper's Tax so exorbitant, that those who love to save Trouble and Money, either stay at home, or retire to the *Conventicles*. I believe there are few Examples in any *Christian* Country of so great a Neglect for Religion ; and the Dissenting Teachers have made their Advantages largely by it ; *Sowing Tares among the Wheat while Men slept* ; being much more expert at procuring Contributions, which is a Trade they are bred up in, than Men of a liberal Education.

AND to say Truth, the Way practised by several Parishes in and about this Town, of maintaining their Clergy by voluntary Subscriptions, is not only an Indignity to the Character, but hath many pernicious Consequences attending it ; such a precarious Dependance, subjecting a Clergyman, who hath not more than ordinary Spirit and Resolution, to many Inconveniences, which are obvious to imagine : But this Defect, will no doubt, be remedied by the Wisdom and Piety of the present Parliament ; and a Tax laid upon every House in a Parish, for the Support of their Pastor. Neither indeed can it be conceived, why a House, whose Purchase is not reckoned

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ed above one third less than Land of the same yearly Rent, should not pay a twentieth Part annually (which is half Tyth) to the Support of the Minister. One thing I could wish; that in fixing the Maintenance to the several Ministers in these new intended Parishes, no determinate Sum of Money may be named, which in all Perpetuities ought by any means to be avoided; but rather a Tax in Proportion to the Rent of each House, although it be but a Twentieth or even a thirtieth Part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in several Parishes of the City after the *Fire*; where the Incumbent and his Successors were to receive for ever a certain Sum; for Example, one or two hundred Pounds a Year. But the Lawgivers did not consider, that what we call at present, one hundred Pounds, will in Process of Time, not have the intrinsick Value of twenty; and twenty Pounds now are hardly equal to forty Shillings, three hundred Years ago. There are a thousand Instances of this all over *England*, in reserved Rent applied to Hospitals; in old Chieftainries; and even among the Clergy themselves, in those Payments which, I think, they call a *Modus*.

As no Prince had ever better Dispositions than her present Majesty, for the Advancement of true Religion; so, there was never any Age that produced greater Occasions to employ them on. It is an unspeakable Misfortune, that any Designs of so excellent a Queen, should be checked by the Necessities of a long and ruinous War, which the Folly or Corruption of *modern Politicians* have involved us in, against all the Maxims whereby our Country flourished so many hundred Years: Else her Majesty's Care of Religion would certainly have reached even to her *American* Plantations. Those noble Countries, stocked by Numbers from hence, where-

of too many are in no very great Reputation for Faith or Morals, will be a perpetual Reproach to us, until some better Care be taken for cultivating *Christianity* among them. If the Governors of those several Colonies were obliged, at certain Times, to transmit an exact Representation of the State of Religion, in their several Districts; and the Legislature here would, in a Time of Leisure, take that Affair under their Consideration; it might be perfected with little Difficulty, and be a great Addition to the Glories of her Majesty's Reign.

BUT, to wave further Speculations upon so remote a Scene, while we have Subjects enough to employ them on at home; It is to be hoped, the Clergy will not let slip any proper Opportunity of improving the pious Dispositions of the QUEEN and Kingdom, for the Advantage of the Church; when by the Example of Times past, they consider how rarely such Conjunctions are like to happen. What if some Method were thought on towards repairing of Churches? For which there is like to be too frequent Occasions; those ancient *Gothick* Structures, throughout this Kingdom, going every Year to decay. That Expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable Collections, seems in my Opinion not very suitable, either to the Dignity and Usefulness of the Work, or to the Honour of our Country; since it might be so easily done, with very little Charge to the Publick, in a much more decent and honourable Manner, while Parliaments are so frequently called. But, these and other Regulations must be left to a Time of *Peace*, which I shall humbly presume to wish may soon be our Share, however offensive it may be to any, either *abroad* or *at home*, who are Gainers by the War.

No. 43. *Thursday, May 31, 1711.*

Scilicet, ut possis curvo dignoscere rectum.

HAVING been forced in my Papers to use the Cant-words of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have so often varied their Significations, for twenty Years past; I think it necessary to say something of the several Changes those two Terms have undergone since that Period; and then to tell the Reader what I have always understood by each of them, since I undertook this Work. I reckon, that these Sorts of conceited Appellations, are usually invented by the Vulgar; who not troubling themselves to examine through the Merits of a Cause, are consequently the most violent Partisans of what they espouse; and in their Quarrels, usually proceed to their beloved Argument of *calling Names*, until at length they light upon one which is sure to stick; and in Time, each Party grows proud of that Appellation, which their Adversaries at first intended for a Reproach. Of this Kind were the *Prasini* and *Veneti*, the *Guelfs* and *Gibelins*, *Huguenots* and *Papists*, *Round-heads* and *Cavaliers*; with many others, of ancient and modern Date. Among us of late there seems to have been a Barrenness of Invention in this Point; the Words *Whig* and *Tory*, although they be not much above thirty Years old, having been pressed to the Service of many Successions of Parties, with very different Idea's fastened to them. This Distinction, I think, began towards the latter Part of King *Charles the Second's*

Reign, was dropt during that of his Successor, and then revived at the *Revolution*; since which it hath perpetually flourished, although applied to very different kinds of Principles and Persons. In that Convention of Lords and Commons, some of both Houses were for a *Regency* to the Prince of *Orange*, with a Reservation of Style and Title to the absent King, which should be made Use of in all publick Acts. Others, when they were brought to allow the Throne vacant, thought the Succession should immediately go to the next Heir, according to the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, as if the last King were actually dead. And, although the Dissenting Lords (in whose House the chief Opposition was) did at last yield both those Points, took the Oaths to the new King, and many of them Employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil Eye by the warm Zealots of the other Side; neither did the Court ever heartily favour any of them, although some were of the most eminent for Abilities and Virtue; and served that Prince, both in his Councils and his Army, with untainted Faith. It was apprehended, at the same Time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the Clergy would have been better pleased with the Scheme of a *Regency*, or at least an uninterrupted lineal Succession, for the Sake of those whose Consciences were truly *Scrupulous*; and they thought there were some Circumstances, in the Case of the deprived Bishops, that looked a little hard, or at least deserved Commiseration.

THESE, and other the like Reflections did, as I conceive, revive the Denominations of *Whig* and *Tory*.

SOME Time after the Revolution, the Distinction of *High* and *Low* Church came in; which was raised

raised by the Dissenters, in order to break the Church Party, by dividing the Members into *High* and *Low*; and the Opinion raised, That the *High* joined with the Papists, inclined the *Low* to fall in with the Dissenters.

AND here I shall take Leave to produce some Principles, which in the several Periods of the late Reign, served to denote a Man of one or the other Party. To be against a standing Army in Time of *Peace*, was all *High Church*, *Tory* and *Tantivy*. To differ from a Majority of Bishops was the same. To raise the Prerogative above Law for serving a Turn, was *Low-Church* and *Whig*. The Opinion of the Majority in the House of Commons, especially of the Country-Party or Landed Interest, was *High-flying* and *rank Tory*. To exalt the King's Supremacy beyond all Precedent, was *Low-Church*, *Whiggish* and *Moderate*. To make the least Doubt of the pretended Prince being Supposititious, and a Tyler's Son, was, in their Phrase, *Top and Top-gallant*, and perfect *Jacobitism*. To resume the most exorbitant Grants that were ever given to a Set of profligate Favourites, and apply them to the Publick, was the very Quintescence of *Toryism*; notwithstanding those Grants were known to be acquired, by sacrificing the Honour and the Wealth of *England*.

IN most of these Principles, the two Parties seem to have shifted Opinions, since their Institution under King *Charles* the Second; and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the Time of the *Revolution*. But, as to that concerning the *Pretender*, the *Whigs* have so far renounced it, that they are grown the great Advocates for his Legitimacy: Which gives me the Opportunity of vindicating a noble * Duke who was accused

* The Duke of —————

accused of a Blunder in the House; when, upon a certain Lord's mentioning the *pretended Prince*, his Grace told the Lords, *He must be plain with them, and call that Person, not the pretended Prince, but the pretended Impostor*: Which was so far from a Blunder in that polite Lord, as his Ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined Way of delivering the avowed Sentiments of his whole Party.

BUT to return. This was the State of Principles when the *QUEEN* came to the Crown; sometime after which, it pleased *certain great Persons*, who had been all their Lives in the Altitude of *Tory* Profession, to enter into a Treaty with the *Whigs*; from whom they could get better Terms than from their old Friends, who began to be resty, and would not allow Monopolies of Power and Favour; nor consent to carry on the War intirely at the Expence of this Nation, that they might have Pensions from Abroad; while another People, more immediately concerned in the War, traded with the Enemy as in Times of Peace. Whereas, the other Party, whose Case appeared then as desperate, was ready to yield to any Conditions that would bring them into Play. And I cannot help affirming, That this Nation was made a Sacrifice to the unmeasurable Appetite of Power and Wealth in *a very few*, who shall be nameless, who in every Step they made, acted directly against what they had always professed. And if his Royal Highness the Prince had died some Years sooner (who was a perpetual Check in their Career) it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

SINCE that Time, the Bulk of the *Whigs* appeareth rather to be linked to a certain Set of *Persons*, than any certain Set of *Principles*: So that if I were

were to define a Member of that Party, I would say, he was one *who believed in the late Ministry*. And therefore, whatever I have affirmed of *Whigs* in any of these Papers, or objected against them, ought to be understood either of those who were Partisans of the late Men in Power, and privy to their Designs ; or such who joined with them, from a Hatred to our Monarchy and Church ; as *Unbelievers* and *Dissenters* of all Sizes : Or Men in Office, who had been guilty of much Corruption, and dreaded a Change ; which would not only put a Stop to further Abuses for the Future, but might perhaps introduce Examinations of what was past : Or those who had been too highly obliged, to quit their Supporters with any common Decency. Or lastly, the *Money-Traders*, who could never hope to make their Markets so well of *Præmiums* and exorbitant Interest, and high Remittances, by any other Administration.

UNDER these Heads, may be reduced the whole Body of those whom I have all along understood for *Whigs* : For, I do not include within this Number, any of those, who have been misled by Ignorance, or seduced by plausible Pretences, to think better of that Sort of Men than they deserve, and to apprehend mighty Dangers from their Disgrace : Because, I believe, the greatest Part of such well-meaning People, are now thoroughly converted.

AND indeed, it must be allowed, that the two fantastick Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, have at present very little Relation to those Opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly professed himself to approve the *Revolution*, to be against the *Pretender*, to justify the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, to think the *British Monarchy* not absolute, but limited by *Laws*,

Laws, which the executive Power could not dispense with ; and to allow an Indulgence to scrupulous Consciences ; such a Man was content to be called a *Whig*. On the other Side, whoever asserted the QUEEN's Hereditary Right ; that the Persons of Princes were Sacred ; their lawful Authority not to be resisted on any Pretence ; nor even their Usurpations, without the most extreme Necessity : That, Breaches in the Succession were highly dangerous ; that, *Schism* was a great Evil, both in it self and its Consequences ; that, the Ruin of the *Church*, would probably be attended with that of the *State* ; that, no Power should be trusted with those who are not of the established Religion ; such a Man was usually called a *Tory*. Now, although the Opinions of both these are very consistent, and I really think are maintained at present by a great Majority of the Kingdom ; yet, according as Men apprehend the Danger greater, either from the *Pre-tender* and his Party, or from the Violence and Cunning of *other Enemies* to the Constitution ; so, their common Discourses and Reasonings, turn either to the first or second Sett of these Opinions I have mentioned ; and are consequently styled either *Whigs* or *Tories*. Which is, as if two *Brothers* apprehended their *House* would be set upon, but disagreed about the Place from whence they thought the *Robbers* would come ; and therefore would go on different Sides to defend it ; they must needs weaken and expose themselves by such a *Separation* ; and so did we, only our *Cafe* was worse : For, in order to keep off a *weak, remote Enemy*, from whom we could not suddenly apprehend any Danger, we took a *nearer and a stronger* one into the *House*. I make no Comparison at all between the two Enemies : *Popery* and *Slavery* are without doubt the greatest

greatest and most dreadful of any ; but I may venture to affirm, that the Fear of these, have not, at least since the *Revolution*, been so close and pressing upon us, as that from *another Faction* ; excepting only one short Period, when the Leaders of that very Faction, invited the abdicating King to return ; of which I have formerly taken Notice.

HAVING thus declared what Sort of Persons I have always meant, under the Denomination of *Whigs*, it will be easy to shew whom I understand by *Tories*. Such whose Principles in Church and State, are what I have above related ; whose Actions are derived from thence, and who have no Attachment to any Set of *Ministers*, further than as these are Friends to the Constitution in all its Parts ; but will do their utmost to save their Prince and Country, *whoever* be at the Helm.

By these Descriptions of *Whig* and *Tory*, I am sensible those Names are given to several Persons very undeservedly ; and, that many a Man is called by one or the other, who hath not the least Title to the Blame or Praise I have bestowed on each of them throughout my Papers.

No. 44. *Thursday, June 7, 1711.*

*Magna vis est, magnum nomen, unum & idem
Sentientis Senatus.*

W H O E V E R calls to mind the Clamour and the Calumny, the artificial Fears and Jealousies, the shameful Misrepresentation of Persons and of Things, that were raised and spread by

by the Leaders and Instruments of a *certain Party*, upon the Change of the last Ministry, and Dissolution of Parliament ; if he be a true Lover of his Country, must feel a mighty Pleasure, although mixed with some Indignation, to see the Wishes, the Conjectures, the Endeavours of an inveterate Faction intirely disappointed ; and this important Period wholly spent, in restoring the Prerogative to the Prince, and Liberty to the Subject ; in reforming past Abuses, preventing future, supplying old Deficiencies, providing for Debts, restoring the Clergy to their Rights, and taking Care of the Necessities of the Church : And, all this unattended with any of those Misfortunes which some Men *hoped* for, while they pretended to *fear*.

FOR my own part, I must confess, the Difficulties appeared so great to me, from such a Noise and Shew of Opposition, that I thought nothing but the absolute Necessity of Affairs, could ever justify so daring an Attempt. But, a wise and good Prince, at the Head of an able Ministry, and of a Senate freely chosen, all united to pursue the true Interest of their Country, is a Power, against which, the little inferior Politicks of any Faction, will be able to make no long Resistance. To this we may add one additional Strength, which in the Opinion of our Adversaries, is the greatest and justest of any ; I mean the *Vox Populi*, so indisputably declarative on the same Side. I am apt to believe, when these discarded Politicians begin seriously to consider all this, they will think it proper to give out ; and reserve their Wisdom for some more convenient Juncture.

IT is pleasant enough to observe, that those who were the chief Instruments of raising the Noise ; who started Fears, bespoke Dangers, and formed

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ominous Prognosticks, in order to scare the *Allies*, to spirit the *French*, and fright ignorant People at home ; made use of those very Opinions themselves had broached, for Arguments to prove, that the Change of Ministers was dangerous and unseasonable. But, if a House be *Swept*, the more Occasion there is for such a Work, the more *Dust* it will raise ; if it be going to *Ruin*, the *Repairs*, however necessary, will *make a Noise*, and *disturb the Neighbourhood* a while. And as to the Rejoicings made in *France*, if it be true, that they had any, upon the News of those Alterations among us ; their Joy was grounded upon the *same Hopes* with that of the *Whigs*, who comforted themselves, that a Change of Ministry and Parliament, would infallibly put us all into Confusion ; increase our Divisions, and destroy our Credit ; wherein, I suppose, by this Time they are *equally* undeceived.

BUT this long Session, being in a Manner ended, which several Circumstances, and one *Accident*, altogether unforeseen, have drawn out beyond the usual Time ; it may be some small piece of Justice to so excellent an Assembly, barely to mention a few of those great Things they have done for the Service of their *QUEEN* and Country ; which I shall take notice of, just as they come to my Memory.

THE Credit of the Nation began mightily to suffer by a Discount upon *Exchequer Bills*, which have been generally reckoned the surest and most sacred of all Securities. The present Lord Treasurer, then a Member of the House of Commons, proposed a Method, which was immediately complied with, of raising them to a *Par* with *Specie* ; and so they have ever since continued.

THE British Colonies of *Nevis* and *St. Christopher*, had been miserably plundered by the *French*; their Houses burnt, their Plantations destroyed, and many of the Inhabitants carried away Prisoners: They had often, for some Years past, applied in vain for Relief from hence; until the present Parliament, considering their Condition as a Case of Justice and Mercy, voted them one hundred thousand Pounds by Way of Recompence, in some Manner, for their Sufferings.

SOME Persons, whom the Voice of the Nation authorized me to call her *Enemies*, taking Advantage of the general Naturalization Act, had invited over a great Number of Foreigners of all Religions, under the Name of *Palatines*; who understood no Trade or Handicraft; yet rather chose to beg than labour; who besides infesting our Streets, bred contagious Diseases, by which we lost in *Natives*, thrice the Number of what we gained in *Foreigners*. The House of Commons, as a Remedy against this Evil, brought in a Bill for repealing that Act of general Naturalization; which, to the Surprise of most People, was rejected by the Lords. And upon this Occasion, I must allow my self to have been justly rebuked by one of my weekly Monitors, for pretending in a former Paper, to hope that Law would be repealed; wherein the Commons being disappointed, took care, however, to send many of the *Palatines* away, and to represent their being invited over, as a pernicious Council.

THE Qualification-Bill, incapacitating Men to serve in Parliament, who have not some Estate in Land, either in Possession or certain Reversion, is perhaps the greatest Security that ever was contrived for preserving the Constitution, which otherwise might,

might, in a little time, lie wholly at the Mercy of the *Moneyed* Interest. And, since much the greatest Part of the Taxes is paid, either immediately from Land, or from its Productions ; it is but common Justice, that those who are the Proprietors, should appoint what Portion of it ought to go to the Support of the Publick ; otherwise, the Engrossers of Money, would be apt to lay heavy Loads on others, which themselves never touch with one of their Fingers.

THE publick Debts were so prodigiously encreas'd, by the Negligence and Corruption of those who had been Managers of the Revenue ; that the late Ministers, like careles Men, who run out their Fortunes, were so far from any Thoughts of Payment, that they had not the Courage to state or compute them. The Parliament found that thirty-five Millions had never been accounted for ; and that the Debt on the Navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine Millions. * The late Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, suitable to his transcendant Genius for publick Affairs, proposed a Fund to be Security for that immense Debt, which is now confirmed by a Law ; and is likely to prove the greatest Restoration and Establishment of the Kingdom's Credit. Nor content with this, the Legislature hath appointed Commissioners of Accompts, to inspect into past Mismanagements of the publick Money, and prevent them for the Future.

I HAVE, in a former Paper, mentioned the Act for building fifty new Churches in *London* and *Westminster*, with a Fund appropriated for that pious and noble Work. But, while I am mentioning Acts of Piety, it would be unjust to conceal my

* Earl of OXFORD.

Lord High Treasurer's Concessions for Religion, which hath extended even to another Kingdom: His Lordship having some Months ago, obtained of her Majesty the first Fruits and Tenths to the Clergy of *Ireland*, as he is known to have already done for that Reverend Body here.

THE ACT for carrying on a Trade to the *South-Sea*, proposed by the same great Person, whose Thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with Success, on the Good of his Country; will, in all Probability, if duly executed, be of mighty Advantage to the Kingdom, and an everlasting Honour to the present Parliament.

I MIGHT go on further, and mention that reasonable Law against excessive Gaming; the putting a Stop to that scandalous Fraud of false Musters in the Guards; the diligent and effectual Enquiry made by the Commons into several gross Abuses. I might produce many Instances of their impartial Justice in deciding controverted Elections, against *former Example*, and great Provocations to retaliate. I might shew their cheerful Readiness in granting such vast Supplies; their great Unanimity, not to be broken by all the Arts of a malicious and cunning Faction; their unfeigned Duty to the *QUEEN*; and lastly, that Representation made to her Majesty from the House of Commons, disowning such a Spirit and Disposition in that noble Assembly, to redress all those Evils, which a long Male-Administration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that trusting only to my Memory, I may have omitted many Things of great Importance; neither do I pretend further in the Compass of this Paper, than to give the World some general, however imperfect Ideas, how worthily this great Assembly hath discharged the Trust of those

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who so freely chose them ; and what we may reasonably hope and expect from the Piety, Courage, Wisdom, and Loyalty of such excellent Patriots, in a Time so fruitful of Occasions to exert the greatest Abilities.

AND now I conceive the main Design I had in writing these Papers, is fully executed. A great Majority of the Nation is at Length thoroughly convinced, that the QUEEN proceeded with the highest Wisdom, in changing her Ministry and Parliament. That, under a former Administration, the greatest Abuses of all Kinds were committed ; and the most dangerous Attempts against the Constitution for some Time intended. The whole Kingdom finds the present Persons in Power, directly and openly pursuing the true Service of their QUEEN and Country ; and to be such whom their most bitter Enemies cannot tax with Bribery, Covetousness, Ambition, Pride, Insolence, or any pernicious Principles in Religion or Government.

FOR my own particular, those little barking Pens which have so constantly pursued me, I take to be of no further Consequence to what I have writ, than the scoffing Slaves of old, placed behind the Chariot, to put the General in Mind of his Mortality ; which was but a Thing of Form, and made no Stop or Disturbance in the Shew. However, if those perpetual Snarlers against me, had the same Design, I must own they have effectually compassed it ; since nothing can well be more mortifying, than to reflect, that I am of the same Species with Creatures capable of uttering so much Scurility, Dulness, Falshood and Impertinence, to the Scandal and Disgrace of Human Nature.

No. 45. Thursday, June 14, 1711.

Melius non tangere Clamo.

WHEN a General hath conquered an Army, and reduced a Country to Obedience ; he often finds it necessary to send out small Bodies, in order to take in petty Castles and Forts ; and beat little straggling Parties, which are otherwise, apt to make Head and infest the Neighbourhood : This Case exactly resembles mine ; I count the main Body of the *Whigs* entirely subdued ; at least, until they appear with new Reinforcements, I shall reckon them as such ; and therefore do now find my self at Leisure to examine inferior Abuses. The Busines I have left, is to fall on those Wretches who would still be keeping the War on Foot, when they have no Country to defend, no Forces to bring into the Field, nor any Thing remaining, but their bare good-will towards *Faction* and *Mischief* : I mean, the present Sett of Writers, whom I have suffered without Molestation, so long to infest the Town. If there were not a Concurrence from Prejudice, Party, weak Understanding, and Misrepresentation, I should think them too inconsiderable in themselves to deserve Correction : But, as my Endeavour hath been to expose the gros Impositions of the *fallen Party*, I will give a Taste in the following Petition, of the Sincerity of their *Factors*, to shew how little those Writers for the *Whigs* were guided by Conscience or Honour ; their Busines being only to gratify a private Interest.

To

To the Right Honourable the present Ministry,
the humble Petition of the Party-writers to the
late Ministry.

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners have served their Time
to the Trade of writing Pamphlets and weekly
Papers, in Defence of the Whigs, against the
Church of England, and the Christian Religion, and
her Majesty's Prerogative, and her Title to the Crown:
That, since the late Change of Ministry, and meeting
of this Parliament, the said Trade is mightily fallen
off, and the Call for the said Pamphlets and Papers,
much less than formerly; and it is feared, to our fur-
ther Prejudice, that the Examiner may discontinue
Writing; whereby some of your Petitioners will be
brought to utter Distress; for as much as through
false Quotations, noted Absurdities, and other legal A-
buses, many of your Petitioners, to their great Comfort
and Support, were enabled to pick up a weekly Sub-
sistence out of the said Examiner.

That, your said poor Petitioners, did humbly offer
your Honours to write in Defence of the late Change
of Ministry and Parliament, much cheaper than they
did for your Predecessors; which your Honours were
pleased to refuse.

Notwithstanding which Offer, your Petitioners are
under daily Apprehension, that your Honours will for-
bid them to follow the said Trade any longer; by
which your Petitioners, to the Number of four Score,
with their Wives and Families, will inevitably starve;
having been bound to no other Calling.

YOUR Petitioners desire your Honours will tenderly consider the Premisses, and suffer your said Petitioners to continue their Trade (those who set them at Work, being still willing to employ them, although at lower Rates) and your said Petitioners will give Security to make Use of the *same Stuff*, and dress it in the *same Manner*, as they always did, and no other.

And your Petitioners, &c.

IT is a certain Sign, that a Man is in the right, when he raiseth all the Scribblers against him : I have sometimes had it in my Head, to write a particular History of Abuses and Corruptions. As I find my self at Leisure this Summer, I shall pursue the Design ; where, besides enumerating the gross Defect, not only of Duty and Respect to the most gracious QUEEN that ever reigned : I propose to shew in every Article, how wrong all Things were managed under the late Ministry ; how right they are now, and according to the *Constitution*. Such a History would be the best Means, not only to expose the principal Actors ; but the weekly Hirelings who toil in their Defence : Who are so notoriously disingenuous, so distant from matter of Fact, so short of that Spirit and Entertainment, which too often mingle with such Pens as dip only in Falsities ; that, if I were to take into their particular Absurdities (an Attempt which they are secured from by their excessive Dulness ;) I should have Reason to look upon my Sufferings little short of the Merit of that *Roman*, who by leaping into a bottomless

bottomless Gulph, sacrificed his Life to preserve his Country.

I HAVE been often wondering how it comes to pass, that the late Men in Power should be so ill provided with Writers: Considering at what full Leisure the Heads and Leaders of them are, and I hope will ever be; they might certainly have made a wiser and more judicious Collection. If, as some imagine, their own Hands have dipt in Ink; and that they themselves have a Share in dressing up the *Medley* and *Observator*; it is a plain Discovery, that their Speculations are as mean and low as their Practices: For, how can we conceive that the Politeness and sound Judgment of *One*, should ever descend to *Billinggate*, Pedantry and Nonsense? Or that a *Second*, who owes his Reputation of Wit, to his Neighbours; should every Day make his Court officiously to a certain great Minister, and yet once a Week so clumsily abuse him in his Writings. When I consider the factious Spirit (if any Spirit they have) of these Papers, I can hardly look for the Author of them in *One*, who by what Means soever better convinced, had once so much of that Sort of Loyalty, as to profess himself a *Nonjuror*.

WITH humble Submission to worse Judgments, I must determine, that the Author of the *Medley*, is a Dunce out of his Element; pretending to intermeddle with *Raillery* and *Irony*, wherein he hath no manner of Taste or Understanding: His Topick of Raillery may be all reduced under those two Words: QUOTH HE; which he seldom fails in any one of his Papers, to be arch with. His *Irony* consists of the Words, MY FRIEND, although sometimes relieved with an Epithet. Doth he think that when he says, My *impious Friend*, my *stupid Friend*,

Friend, and the like ; says it in every Paper, and often a dozen Times in one ; that this is either Wit, Humour, or Satyr ? If I were *impious* or *stupid*, I should really hope to be his *Friend*, and think he spoke in Earnest. *Irony* is not a Work for such groveling Pens, but extream difficult, even to the best ; it is one of the most beautiful Strokes of *Rhetorick*, and which asks a Master-hand to carry on, and finish with Success : But when a Bungler attempts beyond his Skill ; what was at first mishapen, with aukward publishing becomes entirely deformed : As the false Beauty of Paint upon a Lady's Face is less desirable than no Beauty at all ; and the Pertness of a shallow Fop, more disagreeable than his Silence.

I SHOULD not have descended so much below the Dignity of this Paper, as to regard the Course of these muddy Writers, did not the Heads of the late Faction still endeavour to corrupt the Minds of weak People, who are at a Distance from the Metropolis, by their Diligence and Liberality in circulating these weekly Poisons *gratis*. Great Numbers are constantly sent into the Country, to prepossess the Reader against the *Examiner* ; for no other Reason, but because they would still mislead and prevent their being set right in Facts, that they might not see how well the People did to assist the CHURCH and QUEEN : To this End they have been forced to make Use of gross Falsities, without the least Appearance of Truth : But, however, those more modest of their Party here, may blush and wonder at the Assurance of their Friends ; it serves their Design in the Country, where Truth arrives late ; and since the Mercy of the Government, or rather a just Contempt, still suffers these Writers to continue these Efforts, it is not doubted

there,

there, but what they deliver is, at least, free from notorious Falshood. But those Clouds of Ignorance will certainly fly before that Light, which now shines throughout the Nation from the *Representation* offered to her MAJESTY, by the best *House of Commons* that ever sat; who come the nearest to our happy *Constitution*, both in the Freedom of their Elections, and that true *English* Spirit, which have unanimously carried the Majority of them *through*, to the End of this memorable *Sessions*. In which *Representation* the People may be convinced, that five Parts in six of what the *Examiners* have charged on the late Ministry and Faction are true: Which is so glorious, so unanswerable a Justification of these Papers, that any longer to declaim against them, will be as vain and insignificant, as it hath always been a ridiculous Endeavour.

No. 46. *Thursday, June 21, 1711.*

Pauca tamen suberunt priscæ vestigia fraudis.

I HOPE, my Countrymen will believe, that I have a very good Occasion to congratulate with them upon the QUEEN's Speech: All the honest Part must be of Opinion, that nothing ever proceeded from the Throne more glorious for our Representatives in Parliament; or more gracious and satisfactory to the Nation. Could there, amidst that awful Assembly, be any Heart untouched at the Voice of such a QUEEN? Recollecting her Piety, the Uprightness of her Life, her unwearied

ried Prayers and Endeavours for the Prosperity of her People; from whose Interests hers were never divided,

HER Majesty filled every loyal Breast with Joy, when with her graceful Air, and elegant Manner of Delivery, She told her Parliament, *The Pleasure she took to see the Performance of those Promises they had made her at the Beginning of the Sessions; their complying with her Desire to propagate the Service of God, in the building so many new Churches: Enabling her to carry on the War; making effectual Provision for paying those heavy Debts, which were almost grown an insupportable Burthen on the Publick; when our Enemies every where flattered themselves, that Supplies for the Service of the current Year could not have been found.*

COULD any Thing be more grateful to true British Spirits, who had done their utmost towards retrieving our Disorders, than to be applauded for disappointing the Enemies of the Nation, *in all Respects*? Not only by their raising greater Sums than were ever granted to any Prince, in one Session; but for restoring *publick Credit*; a Blessing so invaluable, and so much despaired of by our Enemies, that they concluded it impossible for the Ministry and Parliament to extricate us out of those amazing Difficulties, whereinto we had been plunged. And truly, if we impartially consider the Measures upon which the late Men in Power proceeded, we shall find it extremely difficult to give any satisfactory Account to Reason or Policy, for their notorious Depeculations; (if my Friend the *Medley* will give me Leave to make Use of that Word;) unless like some momentary Conquerors, they resolved to waste that Empire they could not keep.

I AM very well assured, that the former Ministry, after a long Run of ill Husbandry, were often at their

their Wits-end (until Things grew riper for that Change they had projected) how to prevent, from breaking all at once upon the Publick, that Report which they knew would ruin their Designs. The whole Government subsisted upon present Credit, although vast Sums were annually given to support the War; which were so far from being applied this way, that every Year we were plunged more and more in Debt: It is true, the Parliament voted Subsidies, and the willing People chearfully paid them, in Hopes, by an honourable Peace, they should quickly see the End of their Miseries and Taxes: Yet the Arrear to the Navy, and other Charges ran on; the Ministry put a good Face upon a decaying Constitution; they employed all their Arts to conceal the real Distress we were in; they procured that Money should be lent at *5 per Cent.* whilst the unhappy Creditors were forced to give from 20 to 40 *per Cent.* Discompt, for every Farthing they received upon the Bills assigned them by the Government. This they very well knew was such ill Management, as could not be long concealed: They had separately and prodigiously enriched themselves; to preserve their Wealth and Authority; but now they must invade the Constitution. As to their own Possessions, an *Act of Indemnity* had secured them: And as for the rest, they had little more to *risque*, than whether they should remain opulent Subjects, although without any Share in the Power; or become Masters, without Limitation.

AVARICE is ever infatiable! How then must it destroy, when it has the Wealth of a Nation to feed on? The Miseries of the People, the Tears and Groans of poor Seamen and their Families, were not regarded by these Devourers; universal Frauds and Abuses not only winked at, but encouraged; Trade

not

not dying, but dead: It is true, publick Credit was still alive, but subsisted only upon strong Cordials; in utter Ignorance of her approaching Dissolution. Yet, no one Step was made by these *State Physicians*, towards preventing her apparent Disease; much less did they take any Thought about curing the Malady they had occasioned: They were not so void of Reason as to be ignorant of the Condition they had reduced us to; they did know it, and stood provided of a *Remedy* to secure themselves (which a little time would perfect to their Wish) and which all good Subjects must tremble to think on; a *Remedy* a thousand times worse than the *Disease*; where, instead of an *Indulgent, Lawful QUEEN*, we must have referred to a lawless *Junta*, and to an *Arbitrary Captain General*.

But now, God be praised, our Fears are diffipated: The *QUEEN* is *free*, and acts entirely according to her own Judgment and Inclination: The Parliament acquiesceth in whatever she requireth: We have proved the happy Effects of their mutual Confidence; and, as her Majesty tells us from the Throne, *She shall look upon an Attempt to lessen it, as a Step towards dissolving her Government.*

I COULD make many useful Reflections upon the present happy Change of our Condition; the different State of Security to our Constitution, wherein this Sessions hath left us, from the Fears that possessed us upon the ending of the last: The Dread and Apprehension the Majority of the Kingdom were then in, lest *that* Parliament should sit any more: The Longings and Impatiencies of the People, until her Majesty shall think fit, that *she* may meet again.

WHILE

WHILE the sinking Credit of the Nation hath been thus retrieved, by the great Abilities and Industry of the present Ministry and Parliament; the Convocation, no less usefully employed in the Cause of Piety, have drawn up a *Representation of the present State of Religion, with regard to the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness; unanimously agreed upon a joint Committee of both Houses of the Province of Canterbury; and afterwards rejected by the Upper House, but passed in the Lower.*

I AM sorry these pious Labourers should be baffled, in their godly Endeavours, by their own Brethren: I have formerly, in two *Examiners* touched upon the Nature of this *Synod*, and their Divisions, together with the *QUEEN's Letter*, and Desire, to reconcile all Differences and Disputes; and hoped to see the happy Effects of her Exhortation. The *Inferior Clergy* have proceeded with a Spirit truly primitive; their *Representation* is writ with such Force of Eloquence and Argument, as must warm the coldest Heart. The narrow Compass of this Paper will not permit me to enumerate all the Heads: "They trace the Deluge of *Impiety*, from that long " and unnatural Rebellion, which loosened all the " Bands of Discipline and Order; whence Hypo- " crisy and Enthusiasm begat a Disregard for the " very Appearance of Religion; and ended in a " Spirit of downright Libertinism and Profane- " ness: Whence Adversaries arose, who openly " scattered the Poison of *Arian* and *Socinian* Her- " esies; the Godhead of the Holy Spirit denied; " Mysteries exploded, as implying Contradictions, " and incapable of becoming Objects of Assent to " reasonable Minds, &c. From these wicked Prin- " ciples, wicked Practices have followed; frequen- " cy of Oaths and Imprecations; all Manner of " Excess

“ Excess and Luxury, Gaming upon the Lord’s
“ Day, &c.” Upon which I must beg Leave to
subjoin, that a certain late *Great Minister* (in the
good Company of Sir *James of the Peak*, and others
of the same Sort) always made Play his *Sunday’s*
Entertainment.

IN this *Representation* we have a melancholy Pro-
spect of the State of our Religion ; such amazing
Impieties can be equalled by nothing but by those
Cities of old destroyed by Fire from Heaven : Nor
can that Deluge of Profaneness which over-runs the
Nation, have any Check from the pious Endeavours
of our Clergy, whilst the Majority, on one Part,
continue to disagree with the other, about the Man-
ner of putting Essentials in Execution. Mean time,
the Cause of *Christianity* must suffer, and our *Convo-
cations* still have the Disreputation of doing *nothing*.
The *Representation* which themselves have trans-
mitted to the Lower House, is the same in very
many of the Facts : As to the Difference of Style
and Spirit, I conceive that doth not relate to the Ser-
vice of Religion in general, any more than when I
am excessive cold, whether I would chuse to be
warmed by a quicker or more languid Fire. Nor
can I without Pleasure take Notice of one Para-
graph, where they hope, *That especial Care will be
had of the Education of young People at the Univer-
sities ; that Tutors may teach their Pupils the Prin-
ciples of the Christian Religion, and endeavour to make
them serious in it ; with a particular Eye to all such
who are designed for Holy Orders.* Where such Re-
verend Prelates are concerned, it were a Sort of
Sacrilege to dispute their Sincerity : After this,
dare any Person imagine that their Doctrine and
their Intentions can differ : Or, that so grave and
venerable a Body, upon so solemn an Occasion,
would

would deal in *Irony*, or explain their Meaning by Contraries? This must doubtless convince all such, who have hitherto, upon a wrong Interpretation, presumed to square Opinions by theirs, and have with loud Exclamations shewn their Abhorrence of an University-Education, as tainting our Youth with the Principles of *Loyalty* to Sovereigns; and an implicit Obedience to the Slavish Doctrines of the Church.

As this Admonition must satisfy such who surmized, that the Majority did not approve educating Children in the University; so the unhappy Stop that hath been put to the designed *Representation*, hath given the Enemies of our Holy Religion (too numerous and politick a Party to be armed by our selves against our selves) a seeming Occasion to deride our Divisions: And, as if those solemn Proceedings were all but a Jest, these Ungodly Persons are not afraid to be merry with the Conceit of the Upper House's dissenting from what Five of their own Members had before in a Committee, agreed to in the Lower; as if they were acting a Religious Farce, called, *A Convocation and no Convocation*: Nor will they believe our Bishops can have such concurrent Fears of the Growth of *Impiety*, when they do not proceed in the Means that should put an effectual Stop to it, only for a *Form*; or, to use the Words of our Church-Adversaries, until the last remaining Enchroachment be made by the Upper House upon the Privileges of the Lower.

These Reflections are Arrows in the Heart of every honest Church-Man; we would recriminate in vain, our Enemies flatter themselves we lie too open for a Defence: We must therefore be content to wait with *Patience* and *Prayer*, for a Remedy to.

to these *Misfortunes*, until the *Lord of the Harvest*, in his good-time, shall separate the *Tares* from the *Wheat*.

No. 47. *Thursday, June 28, 1711.*

*Consolar socios ut Longi tædia Belii,
Mente ferant placida*—

I Suppose some Wit, and much Leisure, have made it a Fashion among ingenious Persons, to send Letters by way of Assistance, to us weekly Writers: It is easy to imagine, that I have had my Share of such Contributions; for which, although I be very thankful, yet I must confess with some Vanity, That my Mind is rather burthened than relieved by those Intelligencies. If I take Notice of some, and not of others, I proportionably disoblige: However, as they fall in my way, I promise to do what lieth in my Power, towards introducing into the World the Works of those *Anonymous* Persons who are so fond of being Authors.

In the first Place, out of his exceeding Zeal to the Cause, *One* is alarmed at the Industry of the *Whigs*, in aiming to strengthen their *routed Party*, by a Reinforcement from the Circumcised; as not contented with *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Free-thinkers*, all sorts of *Christian Sectaries*; besides a considerable Number of *Apostates*, or if you please *Deserters*, from our own Body; and therefore recommends to me, that some Care may be taken to put a Stop to these Gallimaufry Meetings, these prohibited

hibited Conjunctions of *Jews* and *Christians*; since in order to bring those Infidels within the wide Circle of *Whiggish* Community, neither Blandishments nor Promises are omitted; the very Women proving Accessories: As for Example, a certain *Great Lady*, with some beauteous Auxiliaries, did not disdain to grace Sir *Solomon Medina*'s magnificent Ball and Collation; nor was the young Dutches (although a *Toast* of the first Rate) in the least disgusted at giving her Hand to dance in Partnership with a frowzy *Jew*.

ANOTHER Person sends me a Letter, complaining of the small Reputation of the *QUEEN's* Physicians: This careful Person seems to belong to the Church by his Expression, where he blames the late Ministry for imitating *Jeroboam*, who ordained Priests out of the lowest of the People; and confining that sacred Life, the *Breath of our nostrils*, to the Charge and Care of such Men, to whose slender Abilities they would be very far from trusting their own.

THE Third cometh from a Sufferer under the late *Junta*; one, who remaining fully satisfied of his own Merit, repines that others have not the like valuable Estimation; and are not expeditious enough in rewarding the said Merit: He therefore recommends to me a Subject, necessary to be read by all who have Pretensions, or live in a Court, called, *The Nature of Delay, or the Virtues and Advantages of Procrastination.*

A FOURTH Person is sensibly piqued at the *Medley's* popular Reflection, *That the QUEEN's most gracious Speech should be printed in Abel's Post-Boy, with this very just Conclusion, But we have lived to see the Day, wherein every thing Great and Illustrious among Men is treated with an unbecoming*

Familiarity: All Orders of Men must expect to be buddled into the vile Multitude; and used as if they had not Sense of Glory or Infamy. My Correspondent enquires, what Devil owes this *Writer* and his *Party* a Shame, to make *Him* talk of a *Day*? That *scandalous Day!* when insignificant *Pages* and forward *Attorney-Clerks* were hoisted above the Knowledge of themselves, or their Remembrance of others; not only perverting to their several *Uses* the *Treasure* of the Nation, but presuming to give *Laws* even to their *Sovereign*; *That* was, indeed, a *Day which we have all lived to see, when all things Great and Illustrious among Men, were, by arrogant Upstarts, treated not only with an unbecoming Familiarity, but with Treachery and Pride;* when it might be truly said, that under such petty and yet arbitrary Dispensation, *All Orders of Men were buddled into the vile Multitude, and used as if they had not Sense of Glory or Infamy.*

THE Fifth Letter recounts a scandalous Passage that happened at the Auction of the late Mr. *Bernard's Library*; and prays me to give all befitting Discouragement to such Enormities: It seems some Gentlemen were talking of a scarce Book which treated of Spirits and Apparitions; one of them asked Mr. *Toland*, what he thought of *Ghosts*? Whether he had any Belief of such Things? He readily answered, He was so far from believing *Ghosts*, that he did not believe what Men call the *Holy Ghost*.

THE next, (whom I shall do the Favour to shew at length, because he calls himself a *Whig*, and may possibly charge me with an unfair Quotation, if I sink any Part of what he hath wrote) sends me an Invitation to come over to his Side; but lest this may be thought *Gasconade*, I had best refer to the Original Letter.

SIR,

SIR,

YOU have stood the Shock of the shallow Writers, aided by the best *Finishers* of our Party, with so much Reputation, and so much to their Confusion, that I who have a Value for your Person and Abilities (but an Aversion to your Cause) advise you to renounce the *Tories*, and come over to *Us*. Their Busines is done, they have no more Occasion for your Pen ; you must therefore expect to be neglected and forgotten, as your Fellow-Labourers have been. Whom have they ever rewarded ? They go quite contrary to our Maxim ; none, although ever so undeserving, have suffered Imprisonment and Hardships for us, but we look on it as our common Interest to protect and uphold them, because we have but *One*, the *Tories* as *Many* Interests as there are Persons. Besides, in writing for the strongest Side, you have Commiseration against you : Nor need your Apostacy fear finding its Account, for the Reasons before-mentioned, and one more very considerable, which is, that false Witnesses are always well paid. The only Objection can be made against this Proposal, is, you may think, perhaps, you have so far incensed us by your many Discoveries of our *Arcana*, that you cannot expect to be received with any Degree of Warmth or Confidence. If this be your Opinion, you are a great Stranger to our Principles ; we never refuse to accept an Enemy with open Arms, when we can thereby strengthen our own, or weaken our Adversaries Party : We are so far true Politicians, that both our Love and Hatred always give way to our Interest : But besides, all must know our own blind Side, which was never Proof against Flattery,

‘ how fulsome or unjust soever. How many Authors, with no other Merit, flourished under the late Ministry ? I would therefore advise you to write a Treatise, which will be very fashionable and useful, called, *The Art of Shifting Sides*, and dedicate it in these, or the like Terms.

To all Honest WHIG-Gentlemen, and virtuous WHIG-Ladies, in and about the Cities and Liberties of *London* and *Westminster*.

Gentlemen and Ladies,

A Man who ventures to publish bold Truths in these Days of Toryism and Arbitrary Government, unless he hath a powerful Interest to support him, must expect to be scurvily treated by the persecuting Part of the World : Without very good Seconds, he may shew abundance of Zeal, but little Discretion ; like those Knights of old, who used to plunge alone into the midst of armed Foes. The only Difference between the Courage of the Hero, and that of the Author, seems to lie in the Success : One meets with Tyburn, Newgate, or at best a Messenger ; whilst the other gallantly rescues his Mistress, or carries off the Prize. For this Reason I presume to apply to you for Protection, and I hope to make my future Services atone for my past Offences. You are too considerable, both in Number and Power, to fear a Defeat ; and too zealous of the Truth, to suffer its Champion, to be born down and trampled upon by Enemies.

Gentlemen, Your very Adversaries cannot deny but you have more Money than they, and consequently must give you up the Superiority of Wit : And, although they have disputed the Point of Honesty, it appears, the Ballance now lies entirely on your Side ; witness the

the many unanswerable Steps you have taken for the Good of the Nation, the Wonders of your late Administration, your Respect and Honour for the true Interest of your QUEEN and Country, your Concern for the publick Credit, and your Readiness to advance Money upon great Emergencies, where the Safety of the State so eminently required it.

Ladies, *Were your Plea to Virtue and Beauty less evident, you might stand more in need of a Champion; but I never heard any who durst presume to say, you have more Virtue than Beauty, or less Humility than Prudence; you shine in your Zeal for the Cause, and your Condescension is so bright a Part of your Character, that there are few Men, how despicable soever, but what have found the happy Effects of it.*

SIR,

‘ By my Intimacy and Station among them, I
‘ have so exact a Knowledge of what will please,
‘ that I have sent you this rough Draught, which
‘ I will undertake to be the Univerſal Senſe of our
‘ Party; only leaving you to model it, after such
‘ a Manner as you think best. I hope, you will
‘ not defer your Conversion, but conclude this a
‘ Mark of my Kindness for you. Pray make your
‘ Advantage of this Advice, and you will very
‘ much rejoice,

SIR,

Your Affectionate Friend,

And Humble Servant.

No. 48. Thursday, July 12, 1711.

— *Neque semper Arcum
Tendit Apollo.*

IT sometimes happens that I am either Sick, or Lazy, or Splenetick ; and sometimes, perhaps, like other Authors of great Reputation, I am dull by Design. In such unluçid Intervals it falls out, that three or four of my Papers are inferior to the rest : However, the Credit of the former keeps them up a while ; and even judicious People are often prejudiced for a Week or two in their Favour ; or perhaps are so candid to expect a better next Time. But the Majority of Readers go on with the same Appetite, whether the Paper be good or bad, until they are taught by their Bettters what their Sentiments are to be. It thus fares between me and the *Medley*, who, although he hath been always so liberal with his Epithets, as if he had them by him ready printed, and had nothing to do every Week but fill up the Blanks ; yet, in one or two of his last Papers he hath outdone himself, because some Body hath told him that the *Examiner* is grown dull. I fear they have told him Truth : And how can it be otherwise, when I am descended from animadverting upon the Corruptions in the late Administration, to be an Antagonist of his ? I had Hopes of giving some Diversion to the Town and my self, during this idle Season of the Year, by exposing the Follies of his Productions ; but find I have been unhappily infected with the Stupi-dity

dity I designed to ridicule. This *Medler* is the perfect Reverse of Sir *John Falstaffe*; he is not only dull himself, but he is also the Cause that Dulness is in other Men. However, I think I have found out a Way to read his Papers, from henceforward, without Danger to my Understanding; and therefore I now give him Notice, that I design to write with Wit and Spirit for some Time; which otherwise he would hardly apprehend until about a Month hence.

HE hath injured me in saying, *I insult her Majesty's Physicians*; I only repeat the Words of my Correspondent: If the *QUEEN* discard her present Physicians, he is at a Loss how we shall find *Tories* to supply their Places: *Because*, he assures us, *the Tories are as great Quacks in Science, as in Politicks*. If the Trial of Quackery must be determined by Skill in Politicks, I dare appeal to the Whig-Physicians themselves, to decide which are the Quacks; and whether the *Tories* of the Faculty have not made much better Prognosticks upon the Body Politick, by chusing to adhere to the present Ministry.

AND, if Respect to the *QUEEN's* Person be the Question; the *Medley* sure is not well in his Wits, to revive the Memory of that Defect for which some of his Party have been famous. Suppose him really ignorant; upon ever so little Recollection of any of his Friends, he may quickly be informed which Side have the best Pretence that Way to Favour; since this Writer, and I am glad to find it, can admit Reverence and Duty to her Majesty, are, although late, come to be considered as a Sort of Merit.

METHINKS this Person, who will be my Friend whether I will or no, puts himself and me to much more

more Trouble than he needs: If he would fairly cavil with me, Paper by Paper, and then have done; there might be some Hopes; but without End, I am to be perpetually worried and punished this Month for the Sins of the last; so that it is not properly *this Medley contra that Examiner*, but *every Medley against every Examiner*: When he seems this Week to say all that his little Invention and Spight can supply, and I may safely conclude he hath exhausted the Subject; he returns, when I least dream of him, with stale Malice and double Dulness, to empty that Quiver which he hath filled with Arrows from abroad: But when his merciless Auxiliaries are withdrawn, some to Pleasure, others to debate how to retrieve, by Caballing, what they lost by ill Conduct; or are amused by fawning at Court; or disabled by the Disorders of a broken Constitution; this harmless Person abates very much of the Poignancy of his Satyr.

WHILST I was thus reflecting upon this famous *Montitor*, my Printer brought me several Letters, but not all of them wrote by my self to the *Examiner*, as the sagacious *Medley* suggests; with his humble Advice, That it would not be amiss to print more frequently those Letters I daily receive; his old Way of judging of the Goodness by the Sale, made him extol that Paper, wherein I had lately obliged so many of my Correspondents, protesting, that since the *Roman Triumph*, or what he calls the *Laurel Crown* and *Marcus Crassus*, he had not seen a greater Call for any particular *Examiner*: The Reason seemed plain; the under-hand Endeavours of my Fellow-Writers have succeeded; the concurrent Interest of many Authors must be much more prevailing than that of one; in Consideration of which, I resolved upon that easy Method of filling

filling up a Paper, and at the same Time obliging a Friend.

THE first Letter complains with Justice of the great Neglect I have been guilty of, in letting the *Medley* boast himself so long upon the Clause in the *Act of Indemnity*, relating to the Receivers of the Revenue: He exhorts me to read carefully the *Act* at length; where he assures me, I shall find the requisite Sanction included, although couched in other Terms; from whence he infers, that whatever Cunning was requisite to the drawing up the said *Act*, he needs not be a *Volpone* to discover the Intent: He begs me to take this Matter into *Examination*, which I promise him shortly to do, although to the abolishing my Antagonists witty Advertisement, and confirming my own Opinion; that a cunning Knave will sooner commit a hundred Crimes (although of as black a Dye) than one clumsy one, by which he may be made to mount it.

THE second Letter is of such a Length, that I am sorry it cannot be inserted here: I find it so ingenious, that I do not think fit to abridge it: The Gentleman treats, with a Description very delicate, of the Art of Courts; or the Means by which treacherous Enemies are to a Miracle transformed into faithful Friends, professed Admirers, and most obsequious Flatterers; with the great Secret how to overcome that scrupulous Modesty, which deters some few from imitating the rest; and embracing with open Arms those whom, heretofore, they would have destroyed.

A THIRD draws up a very pathetick Representation of the Hardships inflicted upon a Reverend Divine, late Chaplain of *Modern College* upon *Black*

Black Heath, for no other Reason, but his being an honest *Tory*, and truly Orthodox: And really the Management seems so unfair, that if, upon an exact Enquiry, I find the Facts to be true; such as their letting Part of the said College to a Coffee-House; reducing the Number of twenty decayed Merchants to twelve, and those Dissenters: although the Founder obliged his Trustees to no such Limitation; assigning twenty Pounds a Year for each Person, which is also reduced to twelve Pounds *per Annum*: If, I say, these Facts prove true, I shall not fail to take a proper Time to set them in the best Lights I am able.

A FIFTH, with gilt Paper, neat Wax, and under Cover, dates his Remonstrance from the Drawing-Room; and in a courtly Style, which I am not Polite enough to imitate, sets forth the Vicissitude of human Things, the Change of Manners and Fashion; seems with Pleasure, yet Regret, to call to Memory an Age, wherein possibly himself might flourish, in which the Modes that now obtain, would not have been endured: In short, he appears extremely shocked at the Conduct of two *Great Ladies*, who took the Liberty to behave themselves in the *QUEEN's* Presence, before a full Court, as if they had been at Ease in their own *Rules*, with none but inferior Persons about them. Reverence, Distinction, Decency, were made only for little People; these Ladies are above the Punctilio of Laws and Customs: Their own Charms, the Merit of their Ancestors, their Gratitude, Greatness of Soul, Respect and Duty to their Sovereign, may support Irregularity in their Posterity.

I HOPE, the *Medley* will allow these Passages may have been extracted out of *real* Letters; since I could as well have produced them for my own: Be

Be that as it will, I am glad he allows me to keep so good a Correspondence with my self. His Censure, if it be true, amounts to no more than this ; that I am so far from being obliged to others for my Matter, as to be forced to Father my own upon those who will please to accept it ; wherein I differ as much from him, as one who steals Money into his Neighbour's Pocket, doth from a Rogue who picks it out.

No. 49. *Thursday, July 19, 1711.*

Avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæterasque bonas artes subvertit, pro iis superbiam, crudelitatem, Deos negligere, & omnia venalia babere, edocuit.

I CONSIDER my self grown a very useless Writer ; but it was no more than I foresaw, when I first began with the *Medley* ; I knew my Paper would insensibly dwindle into the Thing himself and his Party desired ; and my Time be lost in managing a Dispute fruitless to the Town, and insignificant even to our selves : He is resolvèd not to be convinced, nor I to be perverted ; he hath still his Prompters, and I my Readers ; we both are where we began ; he will yet continue to animadvert falsely ; and I design henceforward to take no more Notice of what he writes, than Men are used to do by notorious Liars ; who, if they ever happen to speak Truth, must bring other Vouchers than themselves, to gain that Belief which their continued Course of Falsity hath justly robbed them of from the Publick.

I HAD perhaps closed my Papers with this ; and took Leave until the Meeting of the Parliament ; pleased to leave Affairs in so quick and promising a Condition, had I not met with a very scarce Manuscript out of a certain Library : I believe the Translation of Part of it will not be unacceptable to the Town : The Author is that famous *Italian*, *Giovanni Adolrandi*, who made his particular Request, that his Works might never be printed : The Manuscript I speak of is called *Marcus Antonius*, wrote in the same Sort of Verse with the *Rinaldo of Tasso*, whose Senior he was : The Passage I would translate, is *Fulvia's* going to the House of Pride, to implore the Succour of the Goddess towards ruining the Virtue of *Agrippa*, the Favourite of *Augustus*. There are so many parallel Incidents in the Description, that I am tempted to believe our famous *Spencer* had read this Poem, when he gave the World his fourth Canto of the first Book of his *Fairy Queen*.

THE Author introduceth *Dolabella* telling the History of the Triumvirate ; *Lepidus's* Removal, *Antony's* Behaviour in the East, and *Ottavius's* Government at *Rome*, when he had called *Agrippa* to assist him in the Management of Affairs ; whose Wisdom and great Abilities proved destructive to the Hopes that *Antony's* Friends had entertained of seeing him sole Arbitrator of the Empire. *Fulvia*, the Wife of *Antony*, is recorded by *Plutarch* to be a bold and enterprizing Woman ; our Poet enters very well into her Character ; where *Dolabella* relates, That he beheld in his Journey a stupendous Palace, with a broad High-Way, made bare by the Number of Passengers who hourly travelled that Way ; few of whom ever returned, but such whom Poverty had reduced : The Avenues

nues were filled with Beggars, who, although in Rags and Ruins, retained their former Air and Deportment: When they required your Charity, it was still with a vaunting Introduction of what they had been.

APPROACHING nearer I saw (continued he) two busy Persons, gaily habited, entertaining the Crowd that were in the broad Road; these were *Flattery* and *Folly*; the first made herself acceptable by Excess of Compliance, and perpetual Praises; for such was her Industry, that she left not even *Vice* without its Applause; endearing to the Wearers their very Defects: *Folly* was no less assiduous in bespeaking Credit of her Sister, assuring her, that whatever was spoke by *Flattery* was indisputable: In this delightful Conversation, the Travellers passed happily on to the *Palace*, where they were met by *Vanity*, who with much Applause and Ceremony, which they took for Respect, conducted them into the House of *Pride*.

THIS dazzling, unwieldy Structure, was built amidst the Tears and Groans of a People harrassed with a lingring War, to gratify the Ambition of a *Subject*; while the *Sovereign's Palace* lay in *Ashes*. It was dedicated, from the first Foundation, to the Goddess of *Pride*; the Building excessive *costly*, but not *artful*: The *Architect* seemed to consider how to be most profuse, and therefore neglected an advantageous Eminence (made proper by Nature) to build one a quarter of a Mile short of it, at the vain Expence of fifty Millions of Sesterces. There were to be seen stately *Towers*, noble *Porticoes*, ample *Piazza's*, and well-turned *Pillars*, without one handsome Room, unless you will call the Kitchen and Cellars such; which Parts of the House happens to be of very little or no Use to the *parsimonious Founder*:

Founder: A Number of Chambers, but none convenient; fine Gardens without Water; the whole Building raised upon a sandy Foundation; every Breath from Court, every Blast puffed away some Grains of that huge fleeting Hill, upon which this Palace was erected.

HERE the Goddess kept her Court, within an inner Chamber, into which Passengers were conducted: She was seated upon a *Throne*, raised under a *Canopy* within an *Alcove*; whoever gazed on her, seldom beheld any thing with Approbation but themselves; her Beauty was mixed with Disdain, and well expressed her inward Contempt for inferior Objects; she fixt her Eyes upwards, unless when by Intervals they were cast upon a *Mirror* she held in her Hand, which reflected back her own Charms, the only Image wherein she took Delight.

My Attention, as well as that of the whole Assembly, was suddenly taken off from the Goddess, and transferred to a Lady, who with Precipitation broke through the Crowd, and made directly to the Throne: Although passed her Meridian, her Bloom was succeeded by so graceful an Air, that Youth could scarce make her more desirable: Her fair Hair was tucked under a *Tiara* of Jewels made in the Fashion of a *CORONET*. If her Beauty prepossessed us to her Advantage, we were not less terrified in beholding the Company she was in: On one Side marched *Envy*, lashing her with Whips and *Snakes*; giving her to drink by Intervals from a Cup of Wine mingled with Gall and Wormwood: Her other Supporter was *Wrath*, who continually tossed a flaming Brand, directing her Sight to a Dagger which he held; his Looks ghastly, his Limbs trembling, his Body half exposed, the rest cloathed

cloathed with a Robe stained with Blood, and torn by his own Fury, which was so fierce he could not restrain it sometimes from falling upon himself. His Breath was incessantly applied to the Lady's Spleen and Brain, from whence violent Agonies and raging Phrenesies succeeded, as was evident by a *Toss* and Motion as particular as wonderful.

SHE was attired in a Crimson *Robe* edged with *Ermin*, and buckled with Diamonds ; her Train borne by one who had formerly been her Master of the Ceremonies, and who under the false Title of *Good Establishment*, had introduced her with Applause into the World ; yet, having made the Fortune of his Votary ; he was no longer solicitous to preserve Appearances, but submitted to be called by his true Name *Ingratitude*.

THE Goddess not only vouchsafed her a gracious Look, but gave her Hand to the Lady, who was named *Fulvia* ; after a tender Embrace, she seated her by herself on the Throne ; called her Conqueress in right of her Husband ; Daughter, Favourite, her Representative, her other Self ; bid her name her Distress, and depend upon her for Relief.

FULVIA with Sighs told the Goddess, that from a Prospect of being the most happy Person, she was become the most miserable. The Lawrels daily fading upon the Brow of her absent Lord ; their Partizans wholly removed from *Augustus's* Favour ; and, which was worse, *Agrippa*, a Person of fatal Virtue, destructive to the Ambition of her Party, was trusted with the sole Management of Affairs, notwithstanding their mighty Cabals and hourly Intrigues, to retrieve the Power they had lost. *Agrippa's* Reputation was mounted to such a Pitch, that she could not behold and live ; those two Tormentors *Wrath* and *Envy*, giving her

no Remission, until he were destroyed. She therefore besought the Goddess, since false Reports, Treachery and Assassinations had failed, that she would go her self, and take *Avarice* along with *Titles* and *Wealth*, to puff up his Soul, and destroy his Virtues, that he might fall as her self and other Favourites had done, by the Sin of Pride, and the Love of Riches.

To whom the Goddess replied: It is not the least of my Troubles that I must tell you, your Request is vain: I have attempted inlarging our Empire, by the Accession of so powerful a Person as *Agrippa*; I applied the Charms of Wealth and Luxury; I applied my self; but he is more abstemious, more sedate than before: I beheld the hateful Goddess of *Virtue* encircling him with her protecting Wings; I heard her tell him, she would direct his Steps and never forsake him; that the Empire should flourish at its greatest Height under his Administration; that, *Pride* should be defeated, *Avarice* return baffled and ashamed; his Hoards inviolable: That the Uprightness of his Manners, his extensive Soul and vast Capacity, should make his a Name, which the Race of Favourites for Time immemorial should think it their Glory to be called by: Whereas History had not hitherto delivered down one, but where the Parallel would be in some Parts an Injustice to his Character; as if unbounded Power and solid Virtue had been irreconcileable, until met in *Agrippa*.

But, my beloved Daughter, that Virtue we cannot corrupt, may yet be eclipsed: We will cause Distrust and Impatience to enter into the Minds of his Party; they shall fear what they ought to reverence: Those prodigious Qualifications that distinguish *Agrippa*, may be turned against him; whilst his

his very Foes admire his Abilities, we will make his Friends miscal his Wisdom, *Cunning*. Although he be incessantly working for the Good of the Empire, they shall be hoodwinked to those Advantages. Neither new Seas explored, nor Countries discovered and subdued; the heavy Debts of the Empire discharged, Credit restored; Peace brought home to their Dwelling; Trade secure and flourishing; shall overcome those Suspicions and bad Impressions we will make upon the People. Your *Faction*, vigilant and bold, shall disperse false Reports; *Antony's Zeal* must languish; let him attempt no farther for the Good of the Empire, but his own: Those two Demons that haunt you shall be appeased; Revenge be satiated; offer upon his Altars, and supplicate the Goddess of *Discord*, that she may disappear from among you, and more effectually possess your Enemies.

No. 50. *Thursday, July 28, 1711.*

*Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor,
Et jam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.*

NOW that I have compleated the Number of my Papers, and, for the Space of a Year, done my Country what Service lay in the Power of an honest, although concealed Pen; I shall take my Leave of the Town, with particular Thanks for its Favour; and some Acknowledgment to the *Medley*, for so constantly explaining what he thought my Meaning in any dark Allusions, or Allegories; and retire my self from the Fatigue of Politicks and

State-Reflections, until some more urgent Occasion again call forth my Endeavours.

IT is very difficult, in an interested World, for any one to be thought free from those Views that influence others: There are so few Persons content to sacrifice their own Good to that of the Publick, that I do not wonder to have a wrong Interpretation put upon my Labours; and my Self, although entirely otherwise, accused as directing them to some mercenary End; and full of the Desire of making my Fortune, by Application to the *Prevailing Party*: But let such who are my Accusers, remember, that this Paper was begun whilst yet the *late Ministry* were at the Helm, and nothing but their Mismanagement to prognosticate their Loss of Power.

To those who have complained, That my Writings were not always equal, the Spirit the same, or the Matter so entertaining; let such begin to consider, my Busines was to *Instruct*; I would not descend to *Divert*: I was neither a *Plautus*, nor a *Moliere*; I did not so much as pretend to *Wit*, much less *Buffoonry*: I went not in Pursuit of a Laugh, but confined my self to one Subject, and that a very serious one. How extreme difficult it is to succeed often upon the like Topick, I leave to the Consideration of the Judicious; who know how hard it is to vary the same Discourse, and admit of frequent Repetition, without being cloyed; with which I have no Reason to tax my Readers; since the Printer tells me, the Sale of my Paper is not at all diminished, or its Reputation fallen: Which, I must confess, were Temptation enough for me to continue it, if I had mercenary Views, or were not the End I propos'd already answered; which makes me chuse, although perhaps not quite so civilly, to rise of my self and leave

leave my Guests with an Appetite for more, rather than stay till they should call to take away.

AND, notwithstanding the Charge that hath so often been brought against me, with an Intent to wound *Great Men* through my Side ; of my being a contemptible Hireling, and a little mercenary Fellow, without Probity or Principles ; one whose Actions were directed by others, from whence the Machine talked and moved, as conducted by higher Hands : I solemnly declare, I am still as much unknown to the Leaders of our own Party, as to the others ; and very likely to remain so, as long as I please my self ; notwithstanding the wise Remarks of the *Observator*, and the Guesses made by the judicious *Medley*.

AMONG the many Pretenders in this Town, you can hardly produce me one, who will not undertake to discover and point out the difference of Style, and Manner of Thinking, peculiar to the several Men of Wit : This Pamphlet is certainly from such a Hand ; they know his Manner perfectly : That Paper of Verses is infallibly of such a Poet, no Man in *England* could write it but he ; and this sometimes even upon the first Essay of an Author. I, among the rest, used to determine formerly at the same Rate ; but shall be more cautious for the future ; having seen the World and my self so often and so wretchedly mistaken. How many Fathers has this Paper of mine been ascribed to ? Among all the Men of Wit, who are in the Interest of the present Ministry, I know not one who hath escaped some Report or Suspicion of being the Author. The *Medley* hath guessed round ; and from his Skill in that Part of Learning, called *Dog's Logick*, thought he would infallibly hit upon it at last. Thus he hath done what he would have us think is an Injury to

several innocent Persons ; and if the *Examiner* be a stupid, false, and slanderous Paper, as he weekly affirms ; I think he is bound in Conscience and common Justice, to repair the Injury he hath done to the Reputation of those worthy Persons he hath falsely entitled it to ; and who have never given him the least Provocation for any such Calumny.

THE judicious Reader cannot but observe how weak that Cause must be, which the joint Endeavours of their Party have not been able to defend, against an unknown Person, who hath had nothing but *Naked Truth* to oppose to whole Armies of complicated Falshoods and Malice : Yet, supported by the Goodness of the Cause, I have waded through Seas of Scurrility, without being polluted by any of that Filth they have incessantly cast at me. I have neither misrepresented Persons nor Things ; nay, out of Tenderness have often forborn to shew their weakest Side. I appeal to all impartial Men, whether Time hath not discovered more Abuses in the Management of the late Ministry, than the *Examiner* could expose ? The Facts are now so obvious and uncontroverted, that I presume there is no need of a *Monitor* to point out those Things, to which every Man is become capable of directing himself.

Of all the doubtful Steps that I have taken in the Conduct of this Design ; there is none for which I so much blame my self, as first descending to take Notice and talk to those wretched Adversaries that have weekly fought against me ; it was putting my self upon a Level with such, whose Designs and mine were entirely opposite : I was fired by the Love of my Country, and that noble Ardour which conducts us through a thousand Difficulties in the Pursuit of Justice : My Attempt was to *discover*

cover Abuses ; theirs to *conceal* them ; I pursued Truth, they openly adhered to Falshood ; my Pen was valued for its Sincerity, theirs despised for Dif- ingenuity ; and yet I was so weak to enter the Lists, meerly to satisfy those Friends who became uneasy at their not being opposed, and could not account for my Neglect : A Fault many have been guilty of, in Consideration of others, although against a Man's better Sense and Reasoning ; as I could in- stance in several Things, and particularly in one Example out of *Plutarch* ; if the Comparison may not be thought too great a Presumption : It is that of *Pompey the Great*, who ventured a Battle with *Cæsar*, when it was not his Interest ; *meerly because he was a Man of that Honour and Modesty, he could not bear a Reproach* ; *neither would he disoblige his Friends* ; *but broke his own Measures, and forsook his prudent Resolutions, to follow their vain Hope and Desire.* How much more commendable was the Con- stancy of *Phocion*, who when the *Athenians* urged him at an unseasonable Time to fall upon the Ene- my, peremptorily refused ; and being upbraided by them with Cowardice and Pusillanimity, told them, *Gentlemen, we understand one another very well, You cannot make me Valiant at this Time, nor I You Wise?*

BUT, it is Time to have done with such worth- less Combatants : If I have not foiled them, I am certain they have not hurt me, any otherwise than in my own Opinion, for attempting to engage them. I shall conclude with observing the Beauty of that Prospect which lies before me, and for which I con- gratulate with all my Countrymen ; the Security to our Religion and happy Constitution, under our most pious *QUEEN*, her excellent Parliament, and able Ministry ; which to speak of, one by one, would be a Volume, not a Sheet : Methinks, I be- hold

hold the younger *Cato* in Mr. St. John; all that Love for his Country; that Contempt of Danger; and Greatness of Soul, of whom it is said, *It was not for Honour or Riches, nor rashly, or by Chance, that he engaged himself in the Affairs of State; but he undertook the Service of the Publick, as the proper Business of an honest Man; and therefore he thought himself obliged to be as diligent for the Good of That, as a Bee for the Preservation of her Hive.*

By our well-governed Strength at Home, we are now beginning to be truly formidable to our Enemies abroad: *France* was never so busy in searching Expedients that may incline towards a Peace; they find it is become their Interest to be sincere; nothing but the unexpected Death of the Emperor, and that distracted State of Northern Affairs, which at this Time threatens a Breach in the Confederacy; and the Seeds of which Mischief have been long sown, could prevent our finding the speedy Effects of it. All but those who are wilfully blind, and bigotted to a Party, plainly see the Advantage of the Change that hath been made; although considering the Circumstances of a tedious War, I am so far willing to comply with some Gentlemen, as to admit there was a Hazard in it, inasmuch as a *Civil War is worse than any Tyranny*: From whence I take Leave to hope, we shall not easily repeat the Danger; and since all Changes are not good, let us change no more.

The END of the FIFTH VOLUME.

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